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A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM THE
DESCENT of JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

Containing the TRANSACTIONS of
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

THE SECOND EDITION.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac
testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.

L O N D O N :

Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON and JAMES FLETCHER, at the
Oxford-Theatre; and R. BALDWIN, at the Rose, in Paternoster-row.

MDCCLVIII.

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A. C. 1258.

prelates to pay the tythes granted to the king, on pain of excommunication, notwithstanding all oppositions, appeals, or exemptions. Such repeated acts of oppression, to extort money for a purpose to which it was never applied, could not fail to exhaust the patience of any people who retained the least sense of injury or independence. The clergy groaned under these intolerable impositions: the people, driven to despair by poverty and distress, clamoured aloud against that eternal sponge, which sucked up the whole wealth of the nation; and the nobility not only resented the insolence, avarice, and tyranny of the pope, but were exasperated at the weakness and partiality of the king, who had conferred upon foreigners the first offices of the kingdom, which they, and they only, had a right to enjoy. They had endeavoured to reform Henry's conduct by repeated remonstrances, and even restricted him by the most solemn oaths, which he broke without the least hesitation; and now a spirit of discontent having diffused itself through all ranks and degrees of people, they resolved to procure redress of their grievances in a more effectual manner than they had hitherto attempted. They began to deliberate on this subject in private conferences, and determined to expel the foreign counsellors, as the first step towards an amendment of the administration.

The barons
insist upon a
reformation
of abuses.

Henry soon furnished the barons with an opportunity to execute their design; for he convoked a parliament; and, according to custom, demanded a powerful supply to carry on the conquest of Sicily. He could not have touched them upon a more discordant string. They had been so harassed and exhausted by this ridiculous scheme, that they could not hear it mentioned without being filled with indignation. Instead of complying with his

his

his demand, they bitterly complained of his breach of promise; and remonstrated in the strongest terms against all the abuses of his government. In vain he endeavoured to cajole them by an affectation of candour and sincerity, confessing his indiscretion, and vowing a reformation in his conduct. This expedient had lost its effect. They told him plainly they would not depend upon his word; and therefore were resolved to rectify the abuses of his reign in such a manner, that they should have nothing to fear for the future from his inconstancy. Terrified at this declaration, he promised to concur with them in every step that could be taken for the advantage of the nation; and even granted a writing, subscribed with his own hand, by which he consented to the nomination of four and twenty noblemen, chosen by himself and the parliament, to draw up the articles of reformation, to which he would readily submit; and, as a farther proof of his sincerity, he ordered his son Edward to sign this obligation. Henry's behaviour on this occasion was the immediate effect of personal fear; for, he perceived a strong confederacy was formed against him by the most powerful nobility of the realm, such as Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, high steward of England, Humphrey de Bohun high constable, Roger Bigod earl Mareschal, and Richard de Clare earl of Gloucester, some of whom were governed by private animosity against the king's person and favourites; and others, instigated by ambition or self-interest, to retrench the prerogative of the crown. On the third day of the session they appeared in the parliament-house, clad in armour; a sight at which the king was so much startled, that he asked if he was a prisoner? To this interrogation Roger Bigod answered, that he was not a prisoner; but they were determined to

A. C. 1253.
Obtain the
king's assent
to the Sta-
tutes of Ox-
ford.

A. C. 1258.

expel all the Poitevins, and other foreigners, from England, and rectify the disorders of the state. It was this appearance and declaration that induced him to comply with their proposal, the execution of which was deferred till the next meeting, which he appointed at Oxford. During this interval, the barons knowing how little they could depend upon his most solemn protestations, levied a body of forces; and, at the time prescribed, repaired to Oxford well armed and attended, firmly resolved to execute their design. The first business of the session was to choose the council of four and twenty; and Simon de Montfort was at the head of the twelve whom the barons elected. These commissioners began to deliberate immediately upon the subject of their meeting; and in a little time they agreed to the following articles. That the king should confirm the great charter which he had so often sworn to observe; that the office of high justiciary should be conferred upon a person of talents and integrity, who should administer justice to the poor and rich, without distinction; that the chancellor, treasurer, judges, and other ministers of the public, should be chosen annually by the council of four and twenty; and that the parliament should be assembled once at least in three years, to enact laws for the benefit of the kingdom. The parliament having approved of these articles, which were known by the appellation of the Statutes of Oxford, they were confirmed by the assent of the king and prince Edward, who solemnly swore to observe, and cause them to be observed, to the utmost of his power*.

Rymer.
Mat. Paris.

* Those that constituted the king's council were Fulk Bassët bishop of London, Aymer de Valence elect of Westminster, Henry son of Richard king of the Romans, Guy de Lusig-

nan, William de Valence, John earl of Warenne, John earl of Warwick, John Mansel justiciary, J. de Derlington abbot of Westminster, and Henry de Wingham chancellor. Those no-

Never-

Nevertheless they were not constituted without opposition: the earl of Warrenne refused to sign articles so derogatory to the king's prerogative; and Henry son of Richard king of the Romans protested against them or any other such regulation as should be made in the absence of his father. The earl of Leicester, still insolent and impetuous, gave him to understand, that should his father refuse to concur with the barons in such salutary measures, he should not preserve one foot of land in England. But the most industrious opposers of the Statutes were the king's uterine brothers, against whose influence these regulations were chiefly levelled. William de Valence having declared that he would never consent to such restrictions as tended to diminish the king's honour and authority, Leicester threatened him with a resumption of the lands and castles he enjoyed by grants from the crown; and when he answered that he knew how to defend his own property, Simon told him his head should pay for his disobedience. William and his brother Aymer, elect of Winchester, supposing from this declaration that a design was formed against their lives, privately withdrew to the sea-side, in hope of escaping to the continent; but, as they could not find a vessel for their purpose, they took refuge in the castle of Wolvesham, belonging to the see of Winchester. The barons were no sooner apprized of their flight, than they took horse, and pursued them to that city, where without any formal adjournment they resumed their deliberations, and finished the session of parliament. As they could not, without violation of the privileges of the

A. C. 1258.
The king's
foreign
counsellors
expelled the
kingdom.

Rymer.

minated by the barons were Walter de Canteloupe bishop of Worcester; the earls of Leicester, Hereford, Gloucester; and Marechal; Roger Mortimer, and John Fitzgeffrey; Hugh

Bigod brother to the earl Marechal, Richard de Grey, W. Bardolf, Peter de Montfort, and Hugh d'Espenser, Ann. Burton.

A. C. 1258. church, attack the castle to which the four brothers had retired, they had recourse to a negotiation, proposing they should quit the kingdom, and stay abroad until the state should be reformed, when the king might, with the consent of his council, permit them to return. Henry interposing in their behalf, and offering security for their continuing quiet, without attempting to oppose the articles of reformation, they agreed that Guy and Geoffrey should go into exile; and that the other two might remain in the kingdom, under such custody as the barons should appoint, until the pacification of the troubles. William and Aymer did not much relish the scheme of confinement, but chose to go abroad with their brothers, even though their estates should be sequestered by the barons, who allowed them a certain proportion for their subsistence, and promised the rest should be paid at their return. The particulars of this agreement being adjusted, they were supplied with a safe-conduct; and, after having been stripped of about seven thousand marks in ready money, embarked at Dover for the continent. Sums of money which they had deposited in divers religious houses, were seized and sequestered; their lands confiscated; agents sent to Rome with letters to the pope, desiring his holiness to deprive Aymer of the administration of Winchester: and in the mean time the monks of St. Swithin were prevailed upon to elect a new bishop, as if the see had been vacant.

Rymer.
Chr. Dunst.

The barons
are intoxi-
cated with
power.

The barons, having thus expelled the foreigners that were so odious to the nation, associated themselves by a solemn oath to maintain the Statutes of Oxford, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes; and they invited the citizens of London to join their association: a proposal which was readily embraced by the Londoners, who had always been at variance with Henry. They appointed a committee
of

of four persons to supply vacancies in the king's council, by virtue of one of the articles, which provided that if any of the twelve barons should be absent, the rest might fill up their places. Under this pretext they constituted a council of their own party; and the king being entirely in their hands, managed the affairs of the realm according to their own pleasure. They exacted oaths from the people that they would observe their regulations; and resolved that all who should oppose or neglect their ordinances should be treated as enemies of the public. In a word, they were intoxicated with power, and became tyrants in their turn. They bestowed offices on their friends and relations, reduced the king's authority to a mere shadow, and even assembled parliaments without his consent or knowledge. In one of these they proceeded judicially against the foreigners whom they had expelled, and by an authentic act condemned them to perpetual banishment; then they sent deputies to the pope to justify their proceedings, giving his holiness to understand that they could not comply with his desires touching the conquest of Sicily, because the king had embarked in that enterprize, without consulting his parliament, or considering the state of the kingdom, which could by no means support the expence of such an expedition; besides, the conditions of the donation were too hard and impracticable; nevertheless, if his holiness would mitigate the terms of his proposal, they would prosecute the project with all their power. They communicated the Statutes of Oxford as expedients to which they had been reduced by the weakness and incapacity of the king, who was entirely governed by the counsels of foreigners, who had no tie to bind them down to the interest of the nation; and they mentioned the bishop elect of Winchester as the chief author of all the mischiefs with which

A. C. 1258.
Henry
dreads the
ambition of
the earl of
Leicester.

A. C. 1258. the kingdom had been afflicted. They represented that prelate as guilty of enormous crimes, in the consciousness of which he had desired to quit England, lest he should be called to account for his malpractices; they accused him of having advised the king to violate his oath and promise: so that they looked upon him as an enemy to the kingdom; from which they had driven him into perpetual banishment. The pope, far from being satisfied with this justification, was incensed at their presumption, in renouncing the favourite scheme from which he had derived such advantages: but perceiving they were at present too proud and elevated to brook reproof or menaces, he delayed answering their remonstrance; and in the mean time, encouraged Henry in private with assurances of protection. Yet he still pressed him to pay the arrears due to the Italian merchants, and fixed a time for the discharge of that obligation, at the expiration of which he sent orders to the bishop of London to excommunicate all the debtors of those merchants, without distinction of rank or circumstance. This order, however, unsupported by the royal authority, was never put in execution; and the conquest of Sicily was considered as a dangerous and chimerical project, tending to the ruin of England. So little was Henry able to execute that design, that he now saw himself despoiled of all his regal power, at the mercy of the barons, who compelled him to sign orders every day to the prejudice and even ruin of his prerogative. Of all those noblemen, he whom he hated most was Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester, his own brother-in-law: he had never forgot or forgiven the insult he received from that nobleman in parliament; and he looked upon him as the chief author of his present misfortune. The dangerous situation to which he was reduced could not hinder him from manifesting his
senti-

sentiments on this subject; one day in going by water to the Tower, he was surprised with a sudden storm of wind, accompanied with thunder and lightening, and ordered his people to row him ashore immediately. The nearest landing-place was at Durham stairs, where he was received by the earl of Leicester, who seeing him in great perturbation, asked if he was afraid of the thunder and lightening? To which interrogation Henry replied, "I am afraid of the storm; but, by God's head! I am more afraid of thee than of all the thunder and lightening in the universe."

Richard king of the Romans resenting the conduct of the barons who had taken such important steps without his concurrence, wrote to them that he intended to come over, and pacify the troubles which had arisen in his absence; and they sent deputies with an answer, importing that they would not suffer him to enter the kingdom, until he should have sworn to observe the Statutes of Oxford. Incensed at this mortifying message, he told the deputies that he wondered at the presumption of the barons, who had attempted to change the government without his consent. He protested that he would not take the oath which they proposed, nor would he lay aside his resolution to return to England. The governors being apprized of his intention, equipped a fleet and army to dispute his landing; and as he was in no condition to cope with such powerful adversaries, he agreed to their proposal. On that condition he was permitted to cross the sea; and on his arrival at Dover he took the oath, in presence of the king and a great number of barons assembled for his reception. The next step which they took was to establish a

Henry dis-claims all title to Normandy and Anjou.

Rymer, Mat. Paris.

the

A. C. 1259. the prerogative; and the earl of Leicester charged himself with the management of this negotiation. He accordingly repaired to France; and, in order to facilitate the treaty, proposed to sacrifice all Henry's rights to Normandy and Anjou. Such a proposition could not fail of being very agreeable to Lewis, who forthwith assented to the terms, and concluded a treaty which Henry was compelled to sign. That weak prince was even obliged to visit the French king at Abbeville, where, in an assembly of the states of France, he disclaimed all title to Normandy and Anjou; while Lewis ceded in his favour all the Limousin and Perigord, and all that France possessed on the other side of the Garonne, upon condition that he would do homage, and sit among the peers of France as duke of Guienne.

Act. Pub.

Dissention
between the
earls of Lei-
cester and
Gloucester.

During Henry's absence, the four and twenty governors of England applied an effectual remedy to an abuse of the court of Rome, against which the nation had long clamoured. All the best benefices of the kingdom were in the hands of Italian ecclesiastics, who, without residing on the spot, farmed their livings to the best bidders, and the money was remitted to Italy; so that there was hardly any specie left in the island. In order to redress this grievance, the governors published a proclamation, ordering all persons who farmed benefices belonging to foreigners, to deposit the rents in the hands of certain receivers appointed for the purpose, on pain of seeing their houses razed to the foundation. Although the barons had hitherto acted with unanimity, many of them now began to take umbrage at the great authority engrossed by the earl of Leicester, who in a manner erected himself into the sovereign of the four and twenty; and the earl of Gloucester endeavoured to form a party, in order to counterbalance his interest,

A. C. 1260.

interest, and be a check upon his ambition. He first of all depreciated his conduct in private; and insinuated that he had entered into a league with prince Edward, whom he intended to raise to the throne even in the life-time of his father. This report reaching the ears of Henry, who was then at St. Omer, he was so affrighted at the intimation, that he could not resolve upon his return to England, lest his liberty or his life should be in danger; until Edward being informed of his suspicions, cleared himself of the imputation in such a manner, as left no doubts in the breast of his father. Gloucester, disappointed in this quarter, attacked Leicester openly, charging him with divers malversations in Guienne as well as in England; and demanded that a day might be appointed to examine the articles of impeachment: the time was accordingly fixed, and the earl of Leicester appeared in his own defence; when his accuser, either conscious of his own want of evidence, or dreading the power of the culprit, desired the trial might be deferred, because some of his witnesses were absent. This quarrel might have produced mischievous consequences, had not the king of the Romans undertaken to terminate the dispute, as well as to pacify his nephew prince Edward, who was extremely incensed against the earl of Gloucester. Having succeeded in effecting this reconciliation, he set out for Germany, whither he was invited by a deputation from the princes, assuring him he should now receive the imperial crown without opposition; and he was accompanied by prince Edward, whose presence on the continent was necessary to regulate the affairs of Gascony, and settle all differences with his brother-in-law the king of Castile.

M. Westmon.
Rymer.

Richard found the German nobility more than ever divided into factions; and foreseeing that it would

The pope absolves Henry of the oath he took at Oxford.

A. C. 1260.

Ch. Mailros.

would be impossible to succeed, without dissipating immense sums of money, which he could not afford to expend, he relinquished his design, and returned to England. There he found the king and queen of Scotland, who had come to visit Henry; and, after some stay in his court at Westminster, Alexander went back to his own kingdom; but his queen remaining with her father, was delivered at Windsor of a daughter named Margaret. At the same time arrived John de Dreux duke of Brittany with intention to marry Beatrix the king's second daughter, and the court was extremely splendid; for though the governors had very little respect for the person of Henry, they, for the credit of the nation, received those illustrious strangers with great magnificence and hospitality. This however was but small consolation to Henry, who could not even dispose of his own revenues, or plead any merit from the reception that was given to his own sons-in-law. Careless and indolent as he was, he could not but feel and resent these mortifications; but as there was no body near his person to whom he could communicate his chagrin, or by whose counsel he could hope to extricate himself from such restrictions, he privately invited his brother Aymer bishop of Winchester to return to England, hoping that his own character and the protection of the pope, who had by this time confirmed his election, would secure him from the persecution of the barons. That prelate had accepted the invitation, and actually set out from Rome for England, where his presence would have infallibly produced fresh troubles, had not death intercepted him at Paris, to the unspeakable joy of the barons, who could not have refused him entrance into the kingdom, without coming to an open rupture with the pope, which it was their interest to avoid. Notwithstanding this disappointment,

pointment, the king persisted in his design to free himself from the yoke of the four and twenty. He hoped to draw some advantage from the quarrel between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, which he knew was but externally accommodated; and he desired the pope would absolve him from the oath he had taken to observe the Statutes of Oxford. That request was readily granted by the pontiff, whose interest was concerned as well as that of Henry, in effecting a change of government; but Alexander dying before the dispensation could be expedited, he was obliged to wait until the papal chair was filled with his successor Urban IV. who made no difficulty of complying with his demand.

A. C. 1260.

Act. Pub.

His scruples being thus removed, he resolved to pull off the mask without delay; and in the mean time endeavoured to gain over to his interest some of those whom the governors had appointed to exercise offices of trust in the nation. Having partly succeeded in these attempts, he, without communicating his intention to any person whatever, appeared unexpectedly in the parliament which was assembled at London, and declared, to the unspeakable astonishment of the members, that they had promised to pay his debts and augment his revenue, when he signed the Statutes of Oxford; but, as they had not performed their promise, he did not think himself obliged to keep the oath he had there taken; that he would no longer make use of the counsellors who had been imposed upon him, but was determined to free himself from such inglorious bonds, and assert the dignity of his prerogative. So saying, he retired to the Tower, which he had previously secured for his purpose, seized all the money in the mint, published a proclamation discarding the officers appointed by the four and twenty, and nominating others

The king openly disclaims the Statutes of Oxford.

A. C. 1261.

A. C. 1261. others in their room; and acted with such vigour, as seemed to be the effect of a steady resolution to retrieve his independence. Prince Edward, who was then at Paris, being informed of this transaction, and apprehensive of mischievous consequences, returned to England immediately, in order to employ all his interest and endeavours for preventing a civil war; and his arrival was expected with impatience by the barons, who hoped to convince him of his father's misconduct, and engage him as a mediator at least, to compromise the quarrel which they were not in a condition to maintain. Henry wished for his return with the same eagerness, in full expectation of his adding strength and importance to the royal cause; but he was extremely confounded, when he understood that Edward loudly blamed him for the violation of his oath; and his confusion was redoubled by the reunion of the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, who now agreed to an hearty reconciliation, as the only expedient that could prevent the ruin of both, and swore a second time to the Statutes of Oxford. The party of the barons being thus fortified, they gave the king to understand, that unless he would voluntarily remove from his person those evil counsellors, who had given him such pernicious advice, they would find means to effect that removal by compulsion. Henry, who had rashly embarked in this enterprize during a gust of passion, had by this time relapsed into his native perplexity and irresolution; and, as he could not determine upon what answer he ought to make, he took no notice of the message, but remained in the Tower, from an apprehension that his person would not be safe in any other habitation. His fears, however, waxing stronger and stronger every day, he lived in the utmost terror, and with a view to increase the number of his partisans, published the

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the pope's bull, which absolved him from the obligation of his oath; an imprudent step, by which he forfeited all the regard of the nation, and furnished his enemies with a plausible pretence for representing him as a person upon whose faith and sincerity no dependence could be placed. The barons, who had hitherto hoped to accommodate matters before they should come to an open rupture, now laid aside all restraint, and contrived a scheme for surprising him at Winchester, to which city he had lately repaired on the faith of a negotiation; but, being apprized of their design, he withdrew again to the Tower, from whence he sent orders into all the counties to change the magistrates appointed by the four and twenty; and these directions filled the whole kingdom with confusion. The barons began to take effectual measures for opposing the king's designs, and engaged the governors of the Cinque-Ports to equip a fleet of ships to succour the coast, and prevent his being strengthened by foreign reinforcements.

A. C. 1261.

Every thing seemed to portend an immediate civil war, tho' both parties were afraid to plunge the nation into such a gulf of calamity, and each industriously sought to fix the odium of this dissention upon the other. At length the king of the Romans offered his mediation, which being accepted, he prevailed upon his brother to declare he would confirm the Statutes of Oxford; and, at the same time, persuaded the barons to relax in those articles which were most disagreeable to Henry. Not that they unanimously agreed to this qualification; the earl of Leicester protested against the peace, alledging that they could never safely confide in the professed sincerity of a prince who broke through the most sacred ties for his convenience; and having made this declaration, he retired to France. Several other barons expressed

The difference between the king and the barons compromised.

A. C. 1262.

A. C. 1262.

their dislike to the articles, but suffered themselves to be over-ruled by the majority, rather than run the risk of being reproached as the authors of intestine commotion; and by this treaty the tranquillity of England seemed to be happily re-established; yet, under this appearance of peace, the embers of discord still glowed, so as in a little time to burst out into a flame, that raged with uncommon violence.

Rymer.

The king makes a voyage to Gascony. The troubles are revived by the ambition of the earl of Leicester.

After the ratification of this agreement, Richard king of the Romans re-visited Germany upon a pressing invitation of the princes, who supposed he had by this time recruited his finances, and was in a condition to feed their venality. Henry himself took this opportunity of the pacification to go in person and regulate the affairs of Guienne, and was seized with a dangerous distemper at Bourdeaux, which detained him on the continent much longer than he had proposed to stay, when he departed from England. Richard earl of Gloucester dying in the mean time, his son Gilbert made a voyage to Guienne to receive the investiture of the earldom; but Henry was so irritated against Richard, that the son was obliged to undergo the trouble of a tedious sollicitation, and even present him with a considerable sum of money, before he could obtain his request. During the king's absence, the friends of Leicester, whose turbulence and ambition no concessions could appease or satisfy, renewed their cabals, and endeavoured to re-unite the party which had been divided by the last accommodation. This task was the less difficult, as Gloucester's death delivered him from the opposition of a powerful rival, and as the king had furnished them with a plausible pretext for complaining that he had not yet confirmed the Statutes of Oxford. The earl no sooner understood that his emissaries had set the party in motion, than he

returned to England, where his presence revived the courage and animosity of all those who had subscribed the articles contrary to their own inclination; and the king receiving intelligence of their measures, embarked for England immediately, in order to anticipate their designs: but before his arrival, the barons had concerted a plan for securing themselves from all the bad effects of his inconstancy. Immediately after his return, they presented an address, insisting upon a confirmation of the Oxford provisions according to the last agreement; and threatening, in case of refusal, to do themselves justice in another manner. They depended upon the king's timorous disposition, in full confidence of his speedy compliance with their demand, but were not a little surprised when they found themselves treated as rebels, and menaced with the severest penalties.

Henry's courage was elevated upon this occasion by assurances of support, to which they were as yet strangers. During his residence in Guienne, he had engaged the king of the Romans and prince Edward in his interest: this last had, under pretence of assisting at a tournament in Paris, made some levies of foreign troops, which were brought over to England by that young prince, and led against Llewellyn prince of Wales, who had made incursions into the English territories. The Welsh prince was supposed to act in concert with the confederated barons, as he confined his depredations to the lands belonging to Roger de Mortimer, and other noblemen who adhered to the king. Edward marching against him, he took refuge in the mountainous parts of North Wales, which were altogether inaccessible; so that all the prince could do was to supply the castle of Gannock and other fortresses with store of provision and strong garrisons, and then he was recalled by

Prince Edward marches in to Wales,

A. C. 1263;

A. C. 1263.
M. West-
mon.

his father. From this expedition he returned to London; and being destitute of money to pay his forces, he marched at the head of a strong detachment to the house of the Templars, from whence he carried off ten thousand pounds sterling belonging to the citizens, who had there deposited it as in a place of safety. This act of violence and rapine produced an universal clamour among the inhabitants; but their complaints were disregarded by the prince, who ordered the money to be secured in the castle of Windsor, which they did not think proper to besiege. Pope Urban, considering England as an exhausted fund from which he could drain no more money, resolved to play the same game with France touching the crown of Sicily, and actually entered into a negotiation with Charles count of Anjou, brother to the French king, a nobleman whom he proposed to elevate to the Sicilian throne. To prepare Henry for this change in his resolution, he wrote a long letter to him, in which, after having reproached him with his neglecting to fulfil his promise, he declared that he should be obliged to cast his eyes on some other prince who would engage heartily and expeditiously in the project.

Act. Pub.

The king
and the ba-
rons prepare
for an open
rupture.

Overtures of accommodation had been made by the moderate part of the nation, to prevent the king and the malcontents from proceeding to extremities; but their endeavours proving ineffectual from the obstinacy of both parties, who shifted the blame from each other, the earl of Leicester fearing that those delays served only to debauch his partisans, resolved to engage them beyond a power of retracting, by commencing hostilities without further hesitation. What quickened his resolution was the industry of the king's party, who had exacted an oath of fealty to his son Edward from all the citizens of London; and, in a parliament

parliament held at Westminster, all the nobility had sworn to maintain the succession, except Gilbert de Clare earl of Gloucester, who was a professed adherent of Leicester, and refused to take the oath in the face of the parliament. Henry, alarmed at this refusal, began to dread an insurrection, and issued out writs to all the sheriffs, enjoining them to demand an oath from all persons at their county courts, implying that they would stand by the king with their lives and fortunes, and after his death support his son Edward in his succession to the throne of his father. The prince had repaired in person to the isle of Sheppey, where he convened the barons of the Cinque-Ports, who subjected themselves to the same oath at his desire, though these obligations were not at all binding on either side; for as the pope had more than once absolved the king of oaths which he pretended to have taken on compulsion, so now the inferior clergy, who were unanimously in the interest of the barons, removed the scruples of the people, and exhorted them to join in the defence of their liberties, against the tyranny of a king who was ruled by insolent and rapacious foreigners.

The commonalty were thus inflamed to a degree of enthusiasm, while Leicester seeing them ripe for his purpose, convoked his barons at Oxford, where they resolved to maintain the statutes by force of arms, and chose the earl for their general. They had already levied some troops, which were now assembled, and augmented to a prodigious number. Peter bishop of Hereford, a native of Burgundy, who had rendered himself odious to the clergy by oppressing them in the Sicilian affair, was now the first who felt the resentment of the revolted; they seized and imprisoned him in Erdesley castle, plundered his effects, and destroyed his farms. The Italian ecclesiastics were pillaged and turned out of

The earl of Leicester assembles an army, with which he takes the castles, and ravages the lands belonging to the king's adherents.

A. C. 1253. their livings : Geoffrey de Langley, Roger de Mortimer, and all the other noblemen who had opposed the power of the four and twenty, saw their lands and houses cruelly ravaged ; and the fury of the commons was in an especial manner levelled against Simon de Walton bishop of Norwich, and John Mansel justiciary, who had executed the pope's bull for absolving the nation from the oath to observe the Provisions of Oxford. The earl of Leicester, having made himself master of Gloucester, Worcester, and Bridgnorth, advanced about Midsummer towards London, with the royal standard carried before him, and subduing all the king's castles in his way, provided them with garrisons and governors devoted to his interest. Henry at this time resided in the Tower ; prince Edward lodged at Clerkenwell, destitute of friends and money ; and the city of London had declared for the barons, under the influence of Thomas Fitz-Thomas the mayor, a staunch adherent to Leicester. The populace formed themselves into associations against all foreigners, whom they persecuted with the utmost cruelty and malice ; and prince Edward retired with his French knights to Windsor, where he endeavoured to assemble a body of forces, with which he might be able to take the field against the barons. The queen thinking herself unsafe from the fury of the multitude, resolved to follow her son by water, and accordingly went on board of a barge at the Tower ; but as she approached London-bridge, she was insulted in the most brutal manner by the populace, who, not contented with reviling her in the most reproachful terms, endeavoured to sink her boat and destroy her life, by throwing a prodigious quantity of stones into the vessel when the rowers attempted to pass through one of the arches ; so that she was obliged to return to the Tower, which she reached

with

The citizens of London declare for the barons, insult the queen, and commit terrible outrages.

with great danger and difficulty, and was from thence conveyed to the palace of the bishop of London at St. Paul's, as a place of sanctuary. The wealthy citizens were no less exposed to the violence of the mob, which patrolled the streets in vast bodies of horse and foot; and, under pretence of searching for foreigners, broke open houses and plundered friends and foes without distinction.

A. C. 1263.
M. West.
Ch. Abingd.
Ann. Dunst.

The king of the Romans no sooner heard of this commotion, than he came up from the West, and interposed his good offices to prevent the effusion of blood; and a negotiation was begun, under the conduct and management of the bishops of Worcester, London, Lincoln, and Coventry, John de Arlington, and William de Wilton. Mean while Leicester visited the Cinque-Ports, which he confirmed in his interest; and then advancing with his army towards London, the king, in terror of being besieged, agreed to the articles which the revolters pleased to propose; and the treaty was concluded, on condition that the strong places of the kingdom should be put into the hands of the barons; that the Statutes of Oxford should be inviolably observed; that all foreigners should be banished the kingdom, except such as might be permitted to stay by the unanimous consent of the barons; and that none but natural-born subjects, approved by the barons, should be concerned in the administration of public affairs.

A short pacification.

This peace, which was proclaimed in London on the twenty-second day of July, was very disagreeable to prince Edward, who could not bear to see the royal prerogative laid under such restrictions. He had repaired to Bristol, with a view to provide the castle of that place with a good garrison and other necessaries for a vigorous defence, in case the negotiation should not succeed; and he

Prince Edward is obliged to surrender the castle of Windsor.

A. C. 1263. ordered the inhabitants to furnish all the necessary stores and provisions at their own expence. The minds of the people being already irritated against his father, they were so incensed at this arbitrary demand, that a sedition ensued; and Edward was fain to take refuge in the castle, where he was immediately invested. Unprovided as he was with men and ammunition, he had recourse to a stratagem, by which he delivered himself from the fury of the enraged populace. He desired to speak with the bishop of Worcester, to whom he declared his intention was to espouse the party of the barons; but that he wanted first to try whether or not he could persuade his father to grant them satisfaction without coming to extremities. He therefore proposed that the bishop should interpose his influence with the populace, that he might have liberty to go and execute his design; and he desired the bishop would accompany him in such a laudable undertaking, to direct him with his advice, and be an eye-witness of his conduct. The prelate, satisfied with his declaration, represented to the citizens, that it was of the greatest detriment to the common-weal, to detain the prince at such a juncture: the blockade was immediately raised; and Edward set out for London, accompanied by the unsuspecting bishop. When they arrived at Egham, the prince clapped spurs to his horse, and rode full speed to the castle of Windsor, in which he thought himself secure; but the prelate, provoked at his escape and equivocation, proceeded to London, and complained of his behaviour to the barons, who resolved to besiege him immediately. Edward knowing the place was not provided for a regular siege, was no sooner apprized of their march, than he rode forth to meet the earl of Leicester, in hope of amusing him with a negotiation, by which he might be allowed to keep possession of the castle; and

and he had a conference at Kingſton with that nobleman, who did not chuſe to grant the conditions upon which he inſiſted: he therefore attempted to return, but found himſelf arreſted, and obliged to accept of ſuch terms as the earl was pleaſed to propoſe. The caſtle was delivered into the hands of the barons; the garrifon, conſiſting wholly of foreign troops, was conducted to the ſea-ſide and embarked for their own country, after their equipage had been ſhamefully plundered.

A. C. 1263.

Ch. Abingd:
Ch. Dunſt. 4

Mean while the king, at the publication of the peace, had quitted the Tower and repaired to his palace at Weſtminſter, where he inwardly repined at the triumph of the barons, who did not uſe their ſucceſs with moderation. Hugh D' Eſpenſer was created juſticiary; the ſeals were given to Nicholas de Ely, while the earl of Leiceſter, at the head of his army, committed outrages with impunity, and in effect governed all England. His pride and inſolence had raiſed him a number of enemies among the nobility, and now the people loudly murmured againſt the rapine and oppreſſion which his ſoldiers exerciſed under his cognizance. They complained to the king, who could not redreſs their grievances; though, in order to prevent their taking arms in their own defence, they were amused with hopes of receiving ſatiſfaction from the next parliament, which met in September. During this ſhort ſeſſion, the charter for confirming the Oxford proviſions was read in St. Paul's church; guardians of the peace were appointed all over the kingdom; a reſolution was taken to adminiſter juſtice with punctuality for the future; and as Leiceſter reſuſed to make reſtitution, the caſe of the ſufferers was referred to the conſideration of the enſuing parliament. Lewis king of France, with a view to reconcile Henry and his barons, ſummoned this prince, together with the earl

The king of
France in-
terpoſes his
good offices
to effect an
accommoda-
tion between
the king and
the barons.

A. C. 1263. earl of Leicester and other noblemen who enjoyed estates in his dominions, to meet him in the assembly of the estates at Boulogne, to deliberate on the coronation of his son, and an expedition to Palestine, in which he proposed to embark. The barons would not consent to the king's departure until he had promised in writing, and upon the oath of Sir Geoffrey Gatelin, that he would return within a week after Michaelmas. Then committing the government to the charge of Hugh D'Espenser, he took shipping at Dover, with the queen, the two princes, and a great many of the nobility, and arrived in safety at Boulogne, where Lewis endeavoured to persuade the barons to desist from their encroachments upon the prerogative, which had produced so much disturbance in their country, and seemed so subversive of all order and subordination. But Leicester, elated with his power and success, rejected all proposals of submission, and returned abruptly to England. He was in a little time followed by Henry, who left his queen in France, that she might not be exposed to such insults as she had already sustained from the populace.

A. St. Aug.
W. de Nan.

Prince Edward surprises the castle of Windsor, and hostilities are recommenced.

When the parliament met at Westminster, the earl appeared with a strong body of Londoners; and as the original four and twenty governors were by this time partly dead, and partly converted to the king's interest, he resolved to supply their places with those who adhered to the party of the barons: but the people, whom he had disoblinded by his arrogance and tyranny, joining with Henry's friends, formed a strong opposition to his measures; and disputes ran high in parliament, when prince Edward, on pretence of visiting his wife, surprised Windsor, to which the king next day retired, attended by several earls and barons, who had promised to stand by him with their lives and fortunes.

Henry

Henry called another parliament at Reading, where it could not be overawed by the militia of London. Leicester and his barons refused to go thither; and the king, assembling a body of forces, marched directly to Dover, and tried to surprize the castle; but he miscarried in the attempt, through the vigilance of Richard de Grey, the governor, who was a partisan of the earl of Leicester. This recommencement of hostilities furnished the malcontents with an handle to depreciate the character of Henry, whom they represented as a person bound by no ties of agreement or accommodation; and they accused him of a design to introduce foreign troops to enslave the subjects of England. In order to obviate the effects of this imputation, the king issued a writ, to the citizens of London, and afterwards to all the sheriffs of England, declaring that he neither had nor would invite foreigners into the realm; charging the people to refuse payment of any illegal taxes that might be laid upon them by the rebellious barons, and forbidding them to march out of their counties without his special mandate: he likewise ordered the inhabitants of London to remove the earl of Leicester and his followers from the city, where they had fixed their head quarters.

A. C. 1263.

Clauſ. 48,
Henry III.

Mean while, being baffled in his expectation at Dover, he viſited the Cinque-Ports: and having obliged the barons to renew their oath of fealty, advanced with his army towards London, where he ſtill had a good number of adherents, though the majority of the common people were in the intereſt of the barons. Leicester, hearing of his approach, took poſt in Southwark to oppoſe his entrance into the capital; and the king in his march was joined by prince Edward from Windſor with a ſtrong body of forces; ſo that he was now greatly ſuperior in number to his adverſaries. He reſolved therefore

An engage-
ment in
Southwark:
The differ-
ence refer-
red to the
king of
France, who
decides in
favour of
Henry.

A. C. 1263. therefore to attack Leicester in his quarters; and his friends in London undertook to prevent that nobleman's retreat into the city. They accordingly locked up the bridge gates and threw the keys into the river, while the royal army proceeded to the assault. The earl finding himself precluded, was obliged to stand upon the defensive, and maintain the engagement, until the populace, being informed of his situation, broke down the gates and barricadoes, and poured in vast numbers to his assistance; so that the king and prince Edward were fain to retreat, and Leicester entered London in triumph. The faction produced other overtures for an accommodation, and a truce was concluded, during which both parties agreed to refer their difference to the arbitration of the French king; and the reference was confirmed by the oaths of the king, barons, and all the principal persons concerned in the quarrel. Henry himself, with prince Edward and several members of his council, set out immediately for France, and were followed by the chiefs of the other party, except the earl of Leicester, who was prevented from going abroad on this occasion by a fall from his horse, in which his thigh-bone was fractured. Lewis accepted the office of arbitrator; and having heard the cause, in an assembly of the states at Amiens, decreed that the Statutes of Oxford should be annulled; that the king should recover all his rights and prerogatives, and have the liberty of appointing all the great officers of the crown; and that foreigners should be deemed capable of enjoying posts and dignities as well as English; but he added a clause, importing that his award should have no effect to the prejudice of the privileges which had been granted to the English before the parliament of Oxford. The barons considered this salvo as a manifest contradiction, affirming that the Statutes of Oxford were enacted

M. Westm.

A. C. 1264.

enacted with no other view than that of confirming their privileges; and therefore the clause furnished them with a pretext to reject the determination, and renew hostilities.

The king was scarce returned from France, when Leicester sent his two sons Henry and Simon de Montfort with a strong body of force to ravage the lands of Roger de Mortimer; and afterwards being joined by Llewellyn, they reduced the castle of Radnor: another party, commanded by Robert Ferrers, earl of Derby, advanced to Worcester; and after several assaults taking the city, abandoned it to plunder. Edward, marching to the relief of Mortimer, subdued several castles belonging to Humphry de Bohun, and pursued the two Montforts to Gloucester, where they sued for a truce, which they obtained by the mediation of the bishop of Worcester; before the expiration of which another treaty was brought upon the carpet at Brackley, in presence of John de Valence, the French ambassador: but the parties could not agree upon the articles. The strength of the barons lay in the middle of England, where the earls of Leicester and Derby possessed great estates; besides the city of London and the adjacent counties, which were greatly influenced by the earl of Gloucester. The king's interest prevailed in the North, in the Marches of Wales, and in the West, which was generally attached to the king of the Romans. As for London, it was still governed by Thomas Fitz-Thomas, whom the populace elected from one year to another, contrary to all former precedents. It was under his auspices that the citizens formed an association to maintain their liberties against the arbitrary measures of the king, and support to the utmost of their power the interest of the confederated barons. All the people in the city, above twelve years of age, swore to observe

A. C. 1264.

Act. Pub.

The kingdom is involved in confusion. The populace of London massacre the Jews.

this

A. C. 1264. this association, which was signed by the mayor and commons of London on one part, and by the earls of Leicester, Gloucester, and Derby, Hugh le D'Espenfer, the chief justiciary, and fourteen barons on the other; and in a little time the barons of the Cinque-Ports acceded to the same engagement. The populace were then divided into different bands; chose Thomas de Pivelesdon for their constable; created Stephen Bukerel their mareschal; and obliged themselves, on hearing the sound of the great bell in St. Paul's, to come forth armed by day or by night, to follow the banners of these chieftains. Under such conductors they made incursions into the neighbourhood of London, pillaging and destroying the houses and lands belonging to the king of the Romans and other noblemen of the king's party. In the week before Palm-Sunday, they broke open the houses and shops belonging to the Jews, plundered their effects, stripped them stark naked, kept them in custody for some hours, and then massacred above five hundred of that wretched people, under the immediate direction of a powerful baron called John Fitz-John, who with his own hand murdered Koh Ben Abraham, the wealthiest Hebrew in England; and seizing all his treasure divided it between himself and the earl of Leicester.

C. T. Wik.

The king obtains a considerable advantage over the barons at Northampton.

The conferences for the peace being broke up, and the commissioners for the barons returned to London; the king summoned all his military tenants to attend him at Oxford, and he was joined by a very considerable body of forces from the North, commanded by John Comin, John Baliol lord of Galloway, Robert de Brus lord of Anandale, John de Vaux, Henry de Piercy, and other noblemen from the Scottish border. With these he marched to Northampton, where he understood a great number of barons had rendezvoused, in

in order to reinforce the earl of Leicester. Henry being refused admittance, broke down a weak part of the walls; and Simon de Montfort falling out was taken prisoner by prince Edward, after his horse had fallen upon him. This accident disconcerted the associates in such a manner, that they threw down their arms, and submitted to the mercy of the king, who afterwards made himself master of Leicester, Nottingham, Tutbury, and over-run the counties of Derby and Stafford, ravaging the lands belonging to his adversaries. The earl of Leicester had begun his march from London to join the forces rendezvoused at Northampton; but, hearing of their disaster, he retreated to the city, which he fortified with great diligence. Having taken this precaution, he resolved to besiege the castle of Rochester, in which the earl of Warenne commanded for the king, though the earl of Arundel and several other noblemen were in the place. When he advanced to Strode, he found the bridge over the river Medway broke down, and the other side defended by a palisado and breastwork, well manned with the inhabitants, determined to oppose his passage; but, he filled a vessel with combustibles, and setting them on fire, passed the river under favour of the smoke. Having thus taken possession of the town, he invested the castle, which he would in all probability have reduced, had not the king, in order to make a diversion, advanced towards London. This motion alarmed the earl so much, that he returned immediately to that city, leaving a small body of troops at Rochester, to block up the castle. These were easily defeated by the king, who now marched across the country to the relief of the earl of Warenne. After having gained this advantage, he took the castle of Tunbridge, and directing his rout to Winchelsea, compelled some of the barons

A. C. 1264.

Mat. Paris;
Brady.

of

A. C. 1264. of the Cinque-Ports to renew their oath of homage, while the rest put to sea, and intercepted all supply of provision from abroad, except such as were intended for the use of the malcontents. From Winchelsea, the king marched into Suffex, and fixed his quarters in the convent of Lewes, while prince Edward took up his lodging in the castle.

Battle of Lewes, in which the king is defeated and taken.

Leicester being by this time reinforced by a body of fifteen thousand Londoners, resolved to hazard a decisive engagement; and with that view, began his march towards the place where the king's army was encamped. He halted about two leagues from Lewes; and that he might throw the odium of whatever mischief should happen upon Henry, he sent a respectful message to the king, declaring that he and his followers had not taken up arms with a view to renounce their allegiance, but merely to remedy the disorders of the government; he therefore conjured his majesty to concur with them in that salutary work, protesting that he should find them as obedient as those sycophants, who, under the pretext of respectful service, sought his ruin, in attempting, by their infamous calumnies, to alienate his affection from his faithful subjects. This remonstrance gave such offence to prince Edward, and the king of the Romans, that they answered it with reproach and defiance; which the barons retorted with interest, renouncing their allegiance, and branding the king himself as an enemy to the nation. Both sides now prepared for battle with the utmost rancour of animosity; and the earl of Leicester advanced to the neighbourhood of Lewes, where he found Henry's troops ready to give him a warm reception. The royal army was formed in three divisions; prince Edward commanded on the right, the king of the Romans was posted in the left wing, and Henry himself remained in the centre. The barons were divided into

into four bodies : the first was conducted by Henry de Montfort, son of the general ; the earl of Gloucester commanded the second ; Simon, earl of Leicester, was at the head of the third ; and the fourth, consisting of Londoners, extended to the left, under the direction of Nicholas Seagrave. The battle was begun by prince Edward, who attacked the London militia with such fury, that they could not sustain the charge, but gave way, and fled immediately with great precipitation. He was so transported with the desire of revenging the insult they had offered to his mother, that he pursued them four miles from the field of battle, making a terrible slaughter. While he made this imprudent use of his victory, the earls of Leicester and Gloucester obtained the same advantage over Henry and the king of the Romans : the left wing was almost wholly cut in pieces, the king of the Romans, with John Comyn, Robert de Brus, and other noblemen, being taken prisoners ; but the centre made a very gallant resistance, being animated by the example of Philip Basset, who performed miracles of valour, until he was overpowered with numbers, after having received four and twenty wounds : the king himself was slightly hurt, and his horse killed under him, before he retired to the priory of Lewes, where he fell into the hands of the enemy. The royal army was totally routed when prince Edward returned from the pursuit ; and his followers were struck with such consternation, that the earl of Warenne, W. de Valence, Guy de Lusignan, and Hugh Bigod, fled with seven hundred men to Pevensey, where they embarked for the continent. This defection disabled prince Edward from executing his first resolution, of falling upon the victors while they were yet dispersed in the pursuit and pillage ; at the same time it enabled the earl of Leicester to reduce his forces into some order,

A. C. 1264. in case he should be attacked. Perceiving, however, that they were unwilling to engage, he amused Edward with proposals of accommodation, until he had sent some detachments to cut off his retreat; and the prince finding himself entangled in the snare, was fain to submit to whatever was proposed. The negotiation lasted but a few minutes; and the treaty was concluded on these conditions: The Statutes of Oxford shall be punctually observed, though under such qualifications as may be judged proper by four bishops or barons appointed in parliament: If these four commissioners cannot agree, they shall be referred to the arbitration of the count of Anjou, brother to the king of France, assisted by four French noblemen: And Edward himself, with his cousin Henry, son to the king of the Romans, shall remain as hostages in the hands of the barons, until these things shall be regulated by the authority of parliament.

Rymer.
Chr. Dunst.
Leland Coll.

The barons
choose three
commission-
ers to govern
the king-
dom.

This convention, which was called the Mise of Lewes, being settled, orders subscribed by the king were sent to the governors of all the castles in which the barons who had been taken at Northampton were kept, to release the prisoners; and the garrison of Tunbridge was disbanded. The northern barons taken in the battle were dismissed to their own country; and indeed it was stipulated that the prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty; nevertheless, Leicester detained the king of the Romans, with his son Edmund, Philip Basset, and other prisoners of quality, and arrested all the nobility who adhered to the king, as fast as he could ensnare them into captivity. Writs were issued in the king's name, forbidding all persons on the severest penalties to wear armour, without a special licence from his majesty, which was granted to none but his own creatures: he obliged the king to commit the guardianship of all the counties to persons

sons whom he himself nominated, and to deliver up all the royal towns and castles; and then he restricted him to closer confinement: prince Edward was sent prisoner to Wallingford, but afterwards removed with his cousin Henry to Dover castle. As the chief aim of the barons in agreeing to the articles at Lewes was to secure the person of prince Edward, they never thought of executing the convention; on the contrary, they concerted a new plan of government, to be authorized by a parliament, which they intended to assemble in the king's name about Whitsuntide. This step, however, was attended with some difficulties. They did not chuse to summon any of the opposite party; and they foresaw that a parliament composed wholly of their own creatures, would be thought deficient in point of legal authority. They therefore contrived a method to render it more general and authentic. They compelled the king to sign commissions, appointing in every county certain officers or magistrates, under the title of Conservators, for preserving the privileges of the people; and these being adherents of the barons, were invested with a very extensive authority. Then the king signed new writs to these conservators, commanding them to appoint four knights in every shire, to sit and represent it in the ensuing parliament; and from this æra most writers date the origin of that right which the commons have to sit in the great council of the nation, since the Norman conquest. The parliament, packed in this manner, of members entirely devoted to the barons, did not fail to approve the plan of government, which was projected to the following purpose: That the parliament should nominate three commissioners of undoubted sagacity and discretion, impowered to chuse a council of nine noblemen, to whose care the administration of public affairs should be entrusted; and that these nine counsellors might be changed occasionally,

A. C. 1264.

Rymer.
C. T. WykeCommons
first repre-
sented.

A. C. 1264. with the consent of the king and the commissioners : That in case of disagreement in opinion among the three commissioners, touching the choice of the counsellors, the dispute should be determined by the majority : That the deliberations of the nine should be executed with the approbation of six of the number ; but if that could not be procured, the affairs should be referred to the determination of the three great commissioners : That the king should have power to dismiss or change these commissioners, with the consent of the barons ; and that the nomination of all public officers should be at the disposition of the nine counsellors : and these regulations should prevail until altered or annulled by the parliament. The three commissioners were the earls of Leicester and Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester ; who continued to govern the kingdom upon this new model, after having extorted the approbation of the king and prince Edward, by threatening both with perpetual imprisonment.

Act. Pub.

The queen attempts to fit out an armament in Flanders.

The queen, who resided in France, no sooner heard of the unfortunate battle of Lewes, than she began to borrow a sum of money to raise forces and equip a fleet, for releasing her son and husband. An infinite number of soldiers of fortune flocked from Germany, Burgundy, and other countries, to Damme in Flanders, which was the place of rendezvous she had appointed ; and at the same time the king of France was employed in setting on foot a mighty armament, which was supposed to be intended against the barons of England, who had so insolently rejected his award. Leicester, possessed with this notion, obliged Henry to write to Lewis, desiring that prince to desist from his martial preparations, and interpose his good offices in effecting a solid peace between the crown and the barons. As the king of France paid very little regard to this address from a prince in actual imprisonment, king Henry repeated this remonstrance, intreating
that

that he would not send or suffer any of his subjects to come over to England, lest such a step might be prejudicial to his son Edward, and to his nephew Henry, who were hostages in the power of the barons; and reinvolve the kingdom in bloodshed and confusion. As Lewis had, in a letter to Henry, pressed him to send over ambassadors to Boulogne, in order to discuss the reference to which both sides had agreed in the convention of Lewes, the king of England gave him to understand, that his chief counsellors were gone to take security from some lords of the Marches; but if he would send a safe-conduct, his ambassadors should be at Boulogne about the middle of August.

The barons amuse the king of France with a negotiation.

The noblemen of the Welsh Marches had declared openly against the proceedings of the last parliament; and Leicester had marched to that country, in order to suppress them entirely, or compromise matters in such a manner as would prevent domestic disturbances, while the nation was threatened with a foreign invasion. He accordingly reduced their castles, and ravaged their lands, until they were obliged to give hostages for keeping the peace; then he returned towards London to oppose the descent of the enemy. He had issued out writs in the king's name, summoning all the military tenants to appear in arms on the third day of August at London; he demanded a certain number of armed infantry from every hamlet, according to its size, while the cities and boroughs were required to provide horse as well as foot, with maintenance for forty days, at the common expence of the inhabitants. Writs were likewise issued to all the ports, cities, and towns, in Norfolk and Suffolk, to raise forces, and equip vessels, under the direction of Hugh le D'Espenser the new justiciary, who undertook to guard that part of the coast, while the earl of Leicester took charge of the fleet fitted out by

A. C. 1264. the Cinque-ports, to screen the southern parts from invasion. But the fears of a descent soon vanished, when the forces assembled at Damme by queen Eleanor, dispersed and retired for want of money; and it appeared that the king of France had never entertained the design of landing in Britain. But this was not the only apprehension that disturbed the barons in the enjoyment of their power. Cardinal Guido arrived at Boulogne, with orders from the pope to denounce ecclesiastical censures against the earls of Leicester, Gloucester, Norfolk, and their adherents, unless they would immediately abjure the Statutes of Oxford, restore the king to the full enjoyment of his royal prerogative, and set prince Edward and his cousin at liberty. The barons had forbid the legate to enter the kingdom, on pain of death; and he had in his turn published an admonition at Boulogne, requiring them to give him admittance before a certain day; otherwise he would excommunicate them nominally, and lay their lands under an interdict. Then they thought proper to amuse the cardinal, by sending over the bishops of London, Worcester, and Winchester, Hugh le D'Espenser, and Peter de Montfort, to treat with the king of France, in his presence, about a reformation of the state of the kingdom. These commissioners were instructed to propose that two of their number, and two French noblemen, chosen by Lewis, should act as arbitrators; and Peter de Montfort was furnished with particular credentials from Henry, for ratifying in his name whatever the four should determine. This negotiation, however, miscarried, and the legate ordered the bishops to publish the sentences of excommunication and interdict as soon as they should return to England. They promised to obey his mandate; to which, however, they did not conform, alledging that they were deprived of the bulls by the mariners of the

Cinque

Cinque-Ports, who boarded them in their passage, and tore all their papers. The cardinal considering this excuse as a mere invasion, ordered the censures to be published at Rheims, and returning to Rome succeeded Urban in the papacy.

Hitherto Leicester had proceeded with uninterrupted prosperity. He obliged Henry to confirm Thomas Fitz-Thomas in the mayoralty of London, and resolved to reduce the lords of the Welsh Marches, who were still averse to his administration, and had begun to take measures for reducing his exorbitant power. These were Roger de Mortimer, James Audley, Roger de Leyburn, Haymon l'Esrange, Roger de Clifford, and Hugh de Trumbleville, against whom he now marched, carrying the king along with him as a sanction to the undertaking. They had secured or broken down all the bridges on the Severne; so that he could not pass the river, until Llewellyn, his ally, made a diversion in his favour, by falling upon the lands of those noblemen. Finding themselves thus hemmed in between two enemies, they were obliged to submit, and were pardoned on condition of delivering up their castles, together with the custody of their lands, to Simon earl of Leicester; who likewise received of prince Edward the castle and county-palatine of Chester, which he committed to the care of his son Simon; and a peace between Wales and Cheshire was immediately concluded, at Hawarden.

The barons, who had taken up arms against the king on account of his arbitrary government, could not but be jealous of Leicester, who reigned as absolutely as any tyrant upon earth. The earl of Gloucester, in particular, was jealous of his power, and resented the arrogance of his behaviour. He looked upon him as an ambitious adventurer, making large strides towards the throne, under the specious pretext of patriotism; and foresaw infinitely more mischief in the sway of such an usurper,

A. C. 1264.

Rymer.

The earl of Leicester reduces the lords of the Welsh Marches.

A. C. 1265.

Diffention between the earls of Leicester and Gloucester.

A. C. 1265. than ever could be dreaded from the misconduct of a weak prince like Henry. He had already imprisoned the earl of Derby in the Tower, for some pretended misdemeanor; and behaved in such a cool indifferent manner to the earl of Gloucester, as seemed the prelude of some such design against that nobleman, who therefore began to take measures for his own defence. He favoured the malcontents on the Welsh marches, and employed all his influence in raising a faction to counterbalance the power of Leicester. Simon perceived his drift, and issued a proclamation commanding all those who had lately taken arms against the established government, to retire into Ireland; but, instead of obeying this order, they repaired to the lands of the earl of Gloucester, who afforded them shelter and protection. Mean while the enemies of Leicester, insinuated on all occasions, that the cruelty with which he treated the king and his brother, with their sons, too plainly denoted the pernicious design which he harboured in his bosom; and these reports began to have such effect upon the minds of the nation, that he found it absolutely necessary to take some steps for his own exculpation. With this view, he convoked a parliament, on pretence to concert measures for setting prince Edward at liberty; and at this assembly every shire was represented by two knights, and two burgessees appeared for every city and borough in the kingdom. When the parliament met at Westminster, Leicester accused Gloucester of having granted shelter and protection to the lords of the Welsh Marches, and demanded hostages for his fidelity; but the earl, instead of complying with his demand, quitted the place abruptly, and retired to the West, with a strong body of his followers, among whom was John Giffard, one of the bravest noblemen in England, whom Leicester had attempted to oppress. As this parliament had been convoked chiefly

chiefly on account of prince Edward, the bishops of London, Worcester, and Chichester, drew up a convention, containing the conditions of his release, and the king was obliged to swear to the performance. The prince parted with his palace at Westminster to Peter de Montfort; ceded his castle of Bristol to the earl of Leicester; and promised, in writing, to deliver all his castles in the Marches of Wales, for three years, to such persons as should be named by the king's council; to persuade or compel the noblemen of the Marches to submit to the present administration; to oppose the introduction of foreigners; to observe the agreement, on pain of forfeiting his estate; to give up the custody of all his castles for the term of five years; and to consent that his cousin Henry should be detained till the end of the year, as an hostage for his behaviour, in case the kingdom should be invaded. This convention being signed and ratified, Edward was brought into Westminster-Hall, where the instrument was read in public; and nine bishops joined in excommunicating all those who should presume to violate the agreement. Then the prince was declared free, and at liberty, though like his father surrounded by a strong guard, which had particular orders to watch his motions; writs were issued for exacting a new oath of allegiance from all the people of England: and the mayor and aldermen of London swore fealty at St. Paul's, where Fitz-Thomas told the king in public, that he might be sure of their allegiance so long as they could depend upon his protection.

All those who were disgusted at the pride, insolence, tyranny, and extortion of Leicester, having now found a leader and patron in the earl of Gloucester, who was one of the most powerful and popular noblemen of his time, raised such a clamour against Simon, as seemed to portend a very dangerous opposition. In order to avert this storm, he

A. C. 1265.

A convention for the release of prince Edward

Ch. Abingd. Ann. Trivet Rymer.

Leicester forms a design against the person of Gloucester, who facilitates the escape of prince Edward.

A. C. 1265. he is said to have formed the design of taking away the life of his antagonist; and for this purpose, desired his son Henry de Montfort to proclaim a tournament at Northampton, to which all knights were invited without distinction. He knew the ambition and impetuosity of young Gloucester, who had, on a former occasion, expressed an eager desire of trying his dexterity and manhood against Henry; and he did not doubt but that the same eagerness subsisted, and would animate him to appear in the lists; in which case, it was supposed he would never have returned alive. Gloucester, well acquainted with the treacherous disposition of Montfort, avoided the snare; Leicester finding himself disappointed, prevailed upon the young knights and gentlemen assembled at the tournament, to proceed immediately to the Marches of Wales, in hope of taking Gloucester by surprise: that nobleman, however, was upon his guard, had already fortified his castles, and engaged in a league with Mortimer and the other lords for their mutual security. Leicester arriving at Hereford, with the king and prince in his retinue, and perceiving his rival well prepared for his defence, proposed a treaty of accommodation, which was recommended to both parties by Henry, and managed by the bishop of Worcester and some other noblemen, whom Gloucester knew to be devoted to the interest of his adversary; he therefore had no intention to depend upon any politic reconciliation, and amused the managers with a negotiation, until the measures he had concerted with Mortimer were ripe for execution. He saw no way so effectual for humbling Leicester, and preventing the dangerous consequences of his ambition, as that of effecting the escape of prince Edward, and supporting him with all his power and influence. He, by means of his brother Thomas de Clare, who attended Edward

as a companion, communicated his resolution to that prince, who readily embraced the occasion of retrieving his liberty, and promised to act according to the directions he received. In pursuance of these, he one day rode forth in the afternoon to divert himself in Widmarsh near Hereford, accompanied by his usual guards and attendants, and made running matches between them until he had tired all their horses: in the evening the lord Croft appearing on the ascent of Tulington-Hill, and waving his bonnet, according to agreement, the prince mounted a steed of incomparable fleetness, which he had reserved for the purpose, and bade adieu to his keepers, who pursued him for some time, until they saw him received by Roger de Mortimer, with a party of men, who had concealed themselves in a neighbouring wood, and now conducted him to the castle of Wigmore.

Ch. Abingd.
Dugdale.
Mon. Angl.

Edward's deliverance was no sooner known, than the lords of the Marches took to their arms, reduced all their own castles which they had formerly given up, and over-ran all the country from Hereford to Chester. The earl of Gloucester took the field with all the forces he could assemble, and broke down the bridges of the Severne, to prevent the excursions of Leicester. Great numbers flocked from all quarters to serve under the banners of prince Edward, who was joined by John Giffard, at the head of a surprising multitude of horse and foot, who followed the fortunes of that gallant chieftain; and he was reinforced by William de Valence, John earl of Warenne, and Hugh Bigod, who had a few days before landed at Pembroke, with a body of stout warriors enlisted upon the continent. Leicester was not a little confounded when he heard of Edward's escape; though at first he believed the prince had fled into Pembroke-shire, in order to take shipping for France; but he was soon

Leicester is
obliged to
retreat before
the prince.

A. C. 1265. soon undeceived, to his sorrow, when Edward, at the head of a numerous army, advanced to Worcester, and found means to cut off his retreat into England. Montfort being thus caught in the snare he had laid for the earl of Gloucester, surrounded by enemies, and at a great distance from London, which had hitherto supplied him with resources, summoned all the military tenants of the crown to meet the king at Gloucester with the utmost dispatch; but this order was ill obeyed, and before any body of militia appeared in his behalf, the city of Gloucester and the castle were taken by prince Edward. Then Leicester had recourse to his ally Llewellyn prince of North Wales, who fell upon the lands of the earl of Gloucester in Glamorgan, and sent a body of Welsh troops to join Montfort. Thus reinforced, he marched to Monmouth, whither he was followed by John Giffard, who challenged him to battle; but he declined an engagement, and proceeded to Newport, where he expected to be supplied with ships from Bristol, according to the order he had sent to that city, that he might transport his army thither, as he could not otherwise pass the Severne. The earl of Gloucester, however, blocking up the mouth of the Avon with a fleet of gallies, no vessel could come round to his assistance: and now he saw himself in the utmost distress; for prince Edward had come up with his army to Newport, and waited only for day-light to begin the attack.

His son is
surprised at
Kenilworth.

In this emergency, he decamped silently in the middle of the night, which, being dark and tempestuous, favoured his escape into North Wales; from whence he afterwards retreated through woods and over mountains to Hereford, where he fixed his quarters till he should find an opportunity of crossing the Severne. Mean while he ordered his son Simon, who was engaged in the siege of Pevensy-

vensy-

vensey castle, to relinquish that enterprize, and march immediately to his assistance. In obedience to this order he returned to London, where he assembled a strong body of troops, including sixteen bannerets and their followers, and began his march for the banks of the Severne. In his route he took Winchester by storm, was admitted without opposition into Oxford and Northampton, from whence he proceeded to Kenilworth, where his forces lay encamped in the most careless security. A man and woman, who acted as spies for Edward in Simon's army, sent an account of their defenceless situation to that prince, who advancing immediately from Worcester, found Montfort's troops asleep, and took them all prisoners without resistance: his soldiers were enriched with a prodigious booty, and he numbered among his captives the earl of Oxford, W. de Montcheny, Baldwin Wake, Hugh Neville, Adam de Neumarche, and many other persons of distinction. When he returned from this excursion to Worcester, he was informed that Leicester had passed the Severne in his absence, encamped at Kemsley, from whence he moved in the night to Evesham, in hopes of being able to join his son next day at Kenilworth. Edward having received intimation of his design, put his army in motion about sun-set, giving out that his march was directed to Bridgnorth, that he might deceive the spies of the enemy: he accordingly took that route, in which having proceeded about two or three miles, he faced about for Evesham, which he invested in the morning before sun-rise.

Leicester at first mistook the prince's army for the forces under his son, whose disaster he had not yet learned; but he was soon undeceived by the banners of Gloucester and Mortimer, and ascending a small eminence to observe their number and disposition,

Leicester is defeated and slain at Evesham.

A. C. 1265. disposition, was so struck with both, that he could not help exclaiming, "Lord have mercy upon our souls, for our bodies are doomed to destruction." He did not, however, abandon himself to unmanly despair; but seeing himself surrounded on all sides, drew up his men in a compact circle, and exhorted them to fight like brave men, whose lives and liberties were at stake: at the same time he obliged the king to put on armour, that he might not be known, and expose himself in the front of the battle. Edward attacked his troops with inconceivable fury; so that the Welsh could not sustain his first onset, while Gloucester charged with equal intrepidity in another quarter. Notwithstanding the incredible efforts made by those two impetuous commanders, and the precipitate flight of the Welsh, Leicester maintained the battle from two o'clock in the afternoon till night, with surprising obstinacy. The king was wounded in the shoulder, and in the most imminent hazard of his life, when calling out he was Henry of Winchester their king, he was saved by Adam de Mouhaut. Prince Edward hearing his voice, ran immediately to the spot, and conducted him to a place of safety; and before he returned Leicester was slain. His horse had been killed under him; and when he demanded quarter as he fought on foot, it was refused by his adversaries, who told him there was no quarter due to such a traitor. His son Henry did not long survive him; and his troops, seeing their principal leaders killed, were so disheartened, that they made no further resistance: for by this time Hugh le D'Espenser, Ralf Bassët of Sapcote, Peter de Montfort, John de Beauchamp, W. de Mandeville, Guy de Bardolfe, and all the barons, had shared the fate of the earl, except John Fitz-John, Nicholas de Seagrave, Henry de Hastings, Guy de Montfort, Humphrey de Bohun junior, and seven or eight

eight others who were taken prisoners. In a word, all the people of consequence in that army were either slain or taken; a great number of gentlemen and common soldiers fell in the field; and prince Edward obtained a complete victory, which did not cost him above three lives of any consideration. The body of Leicester, being found among the dead, was barbarously mangled and treated with indignity by Roger Mortimer, who ordered the head to be cut off and sent to his wife, as a testimony of his having completed this revenge upon his adversary.

Mat. Paris,
Ch. Abingd.,
Brady.

The face of affairs was intirely changed by the issue of this battle, which was fought on the fifth day of August, in the neighbourhood of Evesham. Those who were formerly persecuted became oppressors in their turn, and the victors used their success with an uncommon rigour. The king, who was naturally vindictive and rapacious, resolved to sacrifice his enemies to those unkingly passions. He convoked a parliament at Winchester, in which the effects of the rebels were confiscated for the use of the crown; and it was resolved to besiege and destroy the city of London, which was always attached to the malcontents. The citizens being informed of this determination, and understanding they were adjudged to have forfeited their privileges, submitted to the mercy of the king, who deprived London of its chains, barricadoes, gates, magistrates, and charter, which the inhabitants were obliged to redeem with a large sum of money; and Fitz-Thomas the mayor, with some of his associates, was imprisoned, until they purchased a pardon with the best part of their substance. The confederated barons were persecuted with the utmost severity: their effects were seized, and their persons hunted about from one place to another, until they were almost driven to despair. Simon de Montfort,

The revolt-
ers rigorously
persecuted.

A. C. 1265. Montfort, eldest son of the earl of Leicester, had endeavoured to secure a protector in the person of Richard king of the Romans, who was a prisoner under his care in the castle of Kenilworth, from whence he now released him without ransom; and many other captives of note, who had been taken in the battle of Lewes, were set at liberty in the same manner: but Simon reaped no immediate advantage from his generosity.

Simon de Montfort takes possession of the isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire.

A. C. 1266.

The king was implacable; and prince Edward resolved to exterminate the very seeds of opposition: Simon therefore quitted the castle of Kenilworth, in which he left a good garrison, and assembling the wreck of his father's army, took possession of the isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire, which he fortified as a retreat for himself and his friends, who joined him to a considerable number. Edward, judging it altogether improper to allow such a body of enemies to maintain their footing in the middle of the kingdom, marched thither at the head of his forces, and found the place strongly fortified both by art and nature: nevertheless he carried on his attacks with such vigour, that the besieged, after an obstinate defence, were obliged to surrender upon assurance of life and limb; but with respect to their estates, they agreed to submit to the judgment of the king of the Romans and prince Edward. In consequence of this capitulation, Montfort appeared before the king's court, where he found a warm advocate in the king of the Romans, who assured Henry, that immediately after the battle of Evesham, the garrison of Kenilworth would have murdered him; had not Montfort saved his life at the hazard of his own, and set him at liberty without ransom; he therefore begged that he would indulge him with a free pardon. This request was vehemently opposed by the earl of Gloucester; and as they did not chuse to

to disoblige that nobleman, it was resolved in council that Montfort should quit the kingdom, and enjoy an allowance of five hundred marks a year, provided he would surrender the castle of Kenilworth; though it was not in his power to fulfil this article, because the garrison would not obey his order. All the other rebels found in the isle of Axholme were pardoned, upon swearing that they would never carry arms for the future against the king; an oath which was very ill observed in the sequel. And thus the tranquillity of the kingdom was restored.

Ch. T.
Wykes.
Ch. Dur-
stap.
Mat. Paris,

Prince Ed-
ward sub-
dues the
Cinque-
Ports,

In the midst of these transactions, the queen, who had resided two years in France, arrived in England, accompanied by Ottoboni, cardinal of St. Andrian, the pope's legate, fraught with several bulls from Clement X. confirming those of his predecessor against Leicester and his adherents, whom he now excommunicated whether dead or living: he likewise laid an interdict upon their lands; granted to Henry one year's tenth of all the revenues of the clergy; and summoned the bishops of Worcester, Chichester, Winchester, and London, to appear before him to answer for their crimes, in supporting Leicester in all his rebellious measures, and disregarding the censures which the pope had denounced against the arch rebel and his adherents. The bishop of Worcester professed penitence, was absolved, and died; but the other three were sent to Rome, in order to undergo such punishment as the pope should think proper to inflict. Mean while Simon de Montfort, who seemed at first pretty well satisfied with his situation, withdrew privately from the prince's palace, and joined a set of pyrates belonging to the Cinque-Ports, who conferred upon him the command of their ships, with which he pillaged all vessels that fell in his way; and as it plainly appeared that these py-

A. C. 1266.

racies were favoured by the inhabitants of the Cinque-Ports, the king sent prince Edward to chastise them, not only for this injustice, but also for their continual attachment to the rebellious barons. He accordingly began his march for Winchelsea, which he took by storm; but the other ports submitted, upon promise of a general amnesty, and the confirmation of their privileges.

M. Westm.
Fab. H. III.

Disturbances
in different
parts of
England.

Though the barons had received a total overthrow at Evesham, and the king had in a manner destroyed the roots of that confederacy, the peace of the kingdom was not yet perfectly re-established; for the castle of Kenilworth still held out against the royalists; and there was a body in arms in the northern counties, which committed depredations in defiance of his authority. He detached his nephew Henry, son of the king of the Romans, against those freebooters, whom he surpris'd, defeated, and dispers'd; but he could not secure the persons of their chiefs, who joining other malcontents, particularly those who had been dislodged from the isle of Axholme, took possession of the isle of Ely in Cambridgeshire, from whence they made incursions into the neighbouring counties. At the same time, Adam Gurdon, formerly governor of Dunstar castle, celebrated for his strength and bravery, maintained himself with eighty horse in the woods between Alton and Farnham, and ravaged the counties of Berks and Surry, till prince Edward came upon him by surprize, while his followers were at some distance. He immediately singled out the prince, who commanded his attendants to retire; and a single combat ensued, in which they both manifested equal strength, courage, and dexterity: at length Adam's foot slipping, he fell to the ground, and remained at the mercy of the victor, who not only spared his life but took him into his service, in which Gurdon behaved ever after with the utmost fidelity.

Edward's
adventure
with Adam
Gurdon.

By

A. C. 1266.

Siege and
reduction of
Kenilworth
castle.

By such vigorous proceedings, all the little insurrections and disturbances were quelled in different parts of England; but the malcontents still kept possession of the isle of Ely; and Kenilworth castle was maintained by Henry Hastings and William de Patishulle, who confided so much in the strength of the fortification, the stores of provision and ammunition that were in the place, the bravery of the garrison, that consisted of seventeen hundred men, and the promise of Simon de Montfort, who assured them he would bring an army of foreigners to their assistance, that they would not listen to terms of submission. The king marched against this fortress in person, and summoned the governor to surrender, who, far from obeying his citation, was so barbarous as to cut off the hand of the pursuivant who delivered the message. The castle was immediately invested; but the garrison was so well provided, and made such a gallant defence, that it seemed impossible to reduce it any other way than by famine. As these troubles in a great measure arose from confiscating the estates of rebels, and bestowing them upon the king's adherents, Henry convoked a parliament in the town of Kenilworth, to mitigate the ordinance which had been enacted on this subject; and it was decreed in a new law, called the Dictum de Kenilworth, that all forfeited estates should be restored to the original owners, after a certain deduction for his majesty's use, according to the nature of the trespass or delinquency of the proprietor. As for Henry de Hastings, he was, for his cruelty to the pursuivant, fined in a sum equal to the revenue of his estate for seven years; and the earl of Derby, who had twice rebelled, was condemned to imprisonment for the same term, if he would not chuse to throw himself altogether upon the king's mercy. This decree was published at Coventry, and in the

A. C. 1266. hearing of the garrison of Kenilworth, on whom however it produced no effect. They continued to defend the place with surprising obstinacy, until their provision beginning to fail, the soldiers growing sickly, and their hopes of assistance from Simon de Montfort more and more languid, they agreed to surrender within forty days, if they should not be relieved, on condition of saving their lives, limbs, horses, and armour. The king accepting the proposal, hostages were delivered; and, at the expiration of the quarentine, the garrison marched out like so many spectres, withered and exhausted with fatigue and famine; and their long confinement and sickness had occasioned such a stench, that the king's soldiers were almost suffocated when they first took possession of the castle, which Henry committed to the custody of his younger son Edmund, to whom he had already granted the honour of Lancaster, the stewardship of England, and all the estate of the late earl of Leicester.

Mat. Paris.
Clauf. 50.
H. III.
Brady.

Gloucester
retires from
court, dis-
contented.

The reduction of Kenilworth, and the prospect of subduing the rebels in the isle of Ely, seemed to efface all former misfortunes from the remembrance of Henry; and though Edward had sworn to the earl of Gloucester, when he first espoused his cause, that he would use his best endeavours to re-establish the antient laws, and drive the foreigners from the king's councils, he now seemed more intent upon reducing the malcontents than inclinable to perform the articles of this obligation. As the affairs of Henry prospered, both father and son acted with less restraint, and made the less scruple to extend the royal prerogative beyond the limits which the laws prescribed. It was not so much with a view to augment the regal power, as to prevent the earl of Leicester from usurping the throne, that the earl of Gloucester had exerted himself in behalf of prince Edward; and now foreseeing that

should the malcontents be altogether oppressed, the king would render himself intirely absolute, he thought it incumbent upon him to prevent such a calamity to the nation. With this view he demanded that the malcontents should be put in possession of their estates, according to the Dictum de Kenilworth: but Henry refusing to comply with the terms of his proposal, he retired to his own estate on the frontiers of Wales; engaged in a treaty with Llewellyn, and some noblemen in the neighbourhood; and sent promise of succour to the revolters of Ely. The court took umbrage at his absence and preparations; but, as he cloaked these last with the pretext of a quarrel with Mortimer, the king gave himself no trouble to appease the discontent of such a powerful nobleman, and bent all his thoughts towards the reduction of the rebels. He therefore assembled a parliament to concert measures, and grant a supply for this expedition; and as the earl of Gloucester did not appear, sent some noblemen to persuade him to come and take his place in the great assembly of the nation. They found him busily employed in raising troops; and when they expressed their surprize at such preparation, he assured them those levies were destined against his enemy Mortimer; and in a writing, signed by his own hand, promised that he would never take up arms against his majesty. This obligation quieted the suspicions of the king and parliament: they granted a subsidy for maintaining the war against the malcontents; and at the same time the legate pressed the clergy to grant the same aid to his holiness; a demand which the prelates A. C. 1267, rejected with disdain.

As soon as the session broke up, Henry took the field with his troops; and, advancing into Cambridgehire, summoned the rebels of Ely to surrender. But they trusted too much to their own

A. C. 1267.

Rymer.
Chr. Dunst.Gloucester
takes pos-
session of
London.

valour, and the advantages of their situation, to be dismayed by his menaces; and their obstinate defence in the first attacks abated his courage in such a manner, that he resolved to wait the arrival of prince Edward, who was then engaged in an expedition against John de Vescy, a northern baron, who had seized the castle of Alnewick, which however the prince compelled him to surrender at discretion. While the king and his son were thus employed, the earl of Gloucester put himself in motion with the troops he had assembled on his own estate and in the principality of Wales; and marched with such expedition, that he arrived in the neighbourhood of London before it was known whether he acted for the king or in behalf of the malcontents. The magistrates who had been appointed by the king were doubtful of his design, and consulted with the pope's legate, whom Henry had left in possession of the Tower. The cardinal advised them to admit the earl, with a few attendants; and for some days he remained quiet, without betraying the least hint of his intention: but John D'Eguille arriving with a party of rebels from the North, and taking up his quarters in Southwark; and he being followed by another party from Ely, under the command of Robert de Willoughby, the magistrates, who could no longer mistake his purpose, ordered the drawbridge to be drawn up, and the gates guarded for their own security. Things continued in this posture for a fortnight, during which the earl secured the inhabitants in his interest; then seized the gates, and granted admittance to the troops of the malcontents. The populace chose a new set of magistrates; bulwarks and barbicans were erected between the Tower and the city; and Gloucester summoned the legate to surrender that fortress. At first he stood upon the defensive; when all communica-

tion

tion being cut off, so that he could receive no supplies of provision, he excommunicated all in general who disturbed the public peace, and laid an interdiction upon the churches in London. These censures were totally disregarded; and when he saw the earl making preparations to besiege him in form, he was fain to surrender at discretion. Gloucester having made himself master of the Tower, no longer concealed his designs, but, on the contrary, published a manifesto, declaring that he had taken up arms to procure equitable conditions to the revolters; and that he would not lay them down until he should have obliged the king and prince Edward to perform their promises, which they had hitherto neglected.

Henry, alarmed at these proceedings, and in the utmost terror of being attacked, sent pressing orders to his son to join him without delay; and these finding the prince upon his route from the North, he marched up to his father with great expedition. Then they advanced together towards London, and took post at Stratford, within three miles of that capital, where they were joined by a great number of people, desirous of fighting under the banners of the prince, who was universally beloved and admired for his valour. The earl of Gloucester was not a little disappointed and chagrined when he understood how the royal army was continually reinforced; for he had hoped that the whole kingdom would have espoused his cause, and that Henry would have been abandoned by his own forces; but now perceiving the royal army increased to such a number that he durst not hazard a battle, he remained within the walls of London, and resolved to extricate himself by a negotiation from the danger in which he was involved. He accord-

Act. Pubj

A. C. 1267.
Is obliged to
submit.

Act. Pub.

Llewellyn
prince of
Wales does
homage to
Henry for
his princi-
pality.

Cart, 53.
Hen. III.

A. C. 1268.
Prince Ed-
ward takes
the cross.

more favourable terms than he had reason to expect. He was pardoned for having taken up arms against his sovereign; and the king's forgiveness was extended to the city of London; but he could not procure the same favour for the malcontents of Ely, with respect to whom the king and prince were implacable. Gloucester's troops being disarmed and dismissed, Edward marched back into Cambridge-shire; and, the rebels of Ely being deprived of all relief, surrendered on assurance of life and limb. Then the king resolved to chastise Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who had always furnished succours for the revolters. With this view he marched at the head of a numerous army to Shrewsbury; and Llewellyn was fain to sue for peace, which he obtained by the mediation of the legate, on condition that the conquered lands should be restored on both sides, and the customs of the Marches preserved; that Llewellyn and his heirs should bear the title of prince of Wales, and all the Welsh barons do him homage and swear fealty; but that he and his successors should hold the principality by the like homage and fealty to the crown of England; and that he should pay five and twenty thousand marks to the king for this concession.

The troubles of the kingdom being thus appeased, the king convoked a parliament, in which the legate Ottoboni declared that the pope had resolved to publish a crusade through all Christendom; and he therefore exhorted the English to contribute their persons and their wealth towards the success of an expedition undertaken for the glory of God and the advantage of the church. As the peace of England was now restored, prince Edward and his cousin Henry received the cross from the hands of the legate; and their example was followed by the earls of Warwick and Pembroke, above one hundred and twenty knights, and an infinite number of inferior

inferior rank, inured to military service during the war between the king and the barons. The tranquillity of the kingdom had been secured by certain regulations, established in a late parliament at Marlborough, known by the name of the Statute of Marlbridge. And now the king's coffers being quite exhausted, a talliage was laid on all cities, boroughs, and towns of his demesne. The itinerant judges, after a long interruption, resumed the practice of going the circuits, in order to settle the administration of justice in the different counties, after the late distractions; Ottoboni, having enacted some constitutions for the service of the church, which are still known by his name, took his leave of England about the beginning of July, and the king of the Romans set out about the same time for Germany.

A. C. 1268

Charles count of Anjou had by this time seated himself upon the throne of Sicily, after a victory obtained over young Conradin, whom he cruelly put to death; and as the king of Tunis had payed an annual tribute to the emperor Frederic II. Charles pretended that this right devolved to him, as king of the two Sicilies: he therefore demanded this tribute; and the Moorish king rejecting his proposal with disdain, he persuaded his brother Lewis to invade his dominions, alledging that an expedition against the Saracens of Barbary would be as acceptable to God as a new crusade against the infidels of Palestine, where he had already met with such bad success. Lewis, whose superstitious zeal was proof against the horrors of captivity, which he had already experienced, and weighed down every consideration of policy and common sense, agreed to join the troops of his brother Charles, in making a descent upon the coast of Africk, and was very desirous of engaging prince Edward in the enterprize. For this purpose he invited him to his court,

A. C. 1269.
Lewis king
of France
engages in
an expedition
against
the Moors
at Tunis.

A. C. 1269. court, where he communicated the scheme, and secured his association with a loan of thirty thousand marks; in consequence of which they adjusted the particulars of the enterprize, and agreed to set out in the middle of August in the ensuing year. About this period, the king of the Romans returned to England with his new wife Beatrix de Falquemort, niece to Conrad archbishop of Cologne, a young lady whom he had espoused on account of her beauty alone, as he could reap no other advantage from such an alliance. This was a season very productive of marriages in the royal family of England. His son Henry, commonly called Henry d'Almaine, had lately married Constance daughter of Gaston viscount of Bearne, the most powerful nobleman in Gascony; and his nephew Edmund, the younger son of king Henry, espoused Aliva, daughter and heiress of William de Fortibus earl of Albemarle.

Another difference between prince Edward and the earl of Gloucester.

Prince Edward's thoughts were engrossed by considerations of a different nature. He employed his whole attention in preparing for his departure, while his father seemed to have nothing so much at heart as the celebration of the feast of Edward the Confessor, and the translation of that saint's relics into a rich shrine of very curious workmanship. The ceremony was performed with great pomp and solemnity, the two kings bearing the relics on their shoulders, in presence of all the prelates and nobility of the realm. The parliament was assembled in order to concert measures for the relief of the Christians in Palestine; and besides a twentieth granted upon the moveables of the laity, and a tenth of ecclesiastic revenues, all the debts of the Jews not assigned to Christians were applied to the same purpose. The earl of Gloucester, who had also taken the cross, believing that prince Edward's reconciliation with him was not altogether sincere, did not chuse to trust himself at court, and even refused to take

Claus. 53.
Hen. III.
Pat. 54.
H. III.

take his seat in parliament: nor did he seem inclined to perform his vow of pilgrimage. Edward, unwilling to leave behind a nobleman whose power and ambition might kindle new dissensions in his absence, insisted upon his accompanying him to Palestine; and the earl as peremptorily refused to subject himself to any restriction in performing the vow he had made. This dispute might have produced very mischievous consequences, had not the king of the Romans interposed his good offices; and both parties submitted to his arbitration. He determined that the earl should accompany prince Edward to the Holy Land, unless hindered by sickness, or some other necessary avocation; that he should receive eight thousand marks and a ship for his passage, provided he would join the prince with his followers on his arrival in Palestine; but, should he chuse to act by himself, the sum would be reduced to two thousand marks, and he should give security for applying it to the purposes of the crusade. He likewise obliged himself by a bond in the penalty of twenty thousand marks to keep the peace in England, even if he should be prevented from fulfilling his vow, and agreed to deliver his castles of Tunbridge and Henly into the hands of the king of the Romans, by way of security, until advice should come of his arrival in the Mediterranean; and then Richard should restore them to his commissioners.

A. C. 1269.

A. C. 1270.

That the nation might be the better secured from disturbance, all the castles of importance were committed to the care of governors on whose fidelity the prince could depend. Robert earl Ferrers was set at liberty, and put in possession of his estate, upon giving security for fifty thousand pounds to prince Edmund, who had received the grant of it when it was first forfeited by Robert's rebellion. The king had indulged prince Edward with a grant

Edward sets out on his expedition.

A. C. 1270. of the Tower, and all his rights in the city of London, together with the duties on merchandize, which last he farmed to a company of Italian merchants; and exacted some customs in an arbitrary manner from the citizens of London, whom he still hated for their constant adherence to the barons, and the insults they had offered to his mother. Nevertheless he now remitted those illegal duties, and even procured from the king a new charter, which confirmed all their ancient privileges; an indulgence by which he conciliated the affections of the inhabitants, who presented him with five hundred marks, in token of their gratitude and esteem.

Chr. Dunst. Carte. The nation now enjoying a profound calm, a parliament was summoned at Winchester, where the king, whose presence was judged indispensably necessary in his own dominions, delivered his cross to prince Edward, and assigned to him the whole produce of the subsidy lately granted for the expedition. The guardianship of Edward's son was vested in the king of the Romans; and the custody of his lands committed to Walter Giffard archbishop of York, Philip Basset, Roger de Mortimer, and Robert Wallerand. Precautions were taken for the administration, in case the king should die during his son's absence; and every mischievous consequence being obviated as far as human prudence could foresee, Edward took leave of his father and uncle, and set out for France with his princess, his cousin Henry d'Almaine, William de Valence, Thomas de Clare, Roger de Clifford, and several other noblemen. Lewis had already landed near Tunis with an army of sixty thousand men, and taken the castle of Carthage, but he deferred his operations against the capital, until the arrival of his brother Charles king of Sicily, whom, however, he did not live to receive; for he was seized with an epidemical dysentery, which had already destroyed

great

The French king dies at Tunis.

great part of his forces, and died in the arms of his son Philip the Hardy, who succeeded him on the throne of France. Charles landed immediately after his decease, and having worsted the Tunifians in several encounters, their king submitted to whatever terms he was pleased to propose.

Prince Edward hearing of the French king's death, would have proceeded directly for Palestine, according to his first intention; but being importuned by Philip to join him in Africa, he sailed thither, and arrived at Tunis after the pacification. This war being finished, and the season far advanced, they resolved to pass the winter in Sicily; and Edward, during his residence in that country, thought proper to send back his cousin Henry d'Almaine to take care of Gascony in his absence, as he did not much depend upon the friendship and sincerity of Philip, who might be tempted to invade that province. He himself took shipping at Trapani early in the spring, and arrived in May at Acra, where his princess was delivered of a daughter: as for Henry d'Almaine, he accompanied the kings of France and Sicily to Viterbo, where great dissention prevailed among the cardinals about the choice of a pope to succeed Clement IV. and there he was basely assassinated in the church of the Franciscans, by his own kinsmen Simon and Guy de Montfort, sons of the late earl of Leicester. The college of cardinals immediately denounced a sentence of excommunication against the sacrilegeous murderers, who escaped notwithstanding the efforts made by the king of Sicily to apprehend them. Philip of France professed great concern for the fate of that amiable prince; nevertheless prince Edward suspected him of being concerned in the murder; and this suspicion was the source of that animosity which subsisted between them in the sequel.

Prince Edward arrives in Palestine.

Henry d'Almaine is assassinated at Viterbo.

Mat. Paris.
Rymer.

From

A. C. 1271.
The popu-
lace of Nor-
wich burnt
the convent.

From the departure of prince Edward, his father's health daily declined in such a manner, that he wrote letters to his son, pressing him to return with all expedition. He was not only oppressed with infirmities, but fatigued and harrassed by the affairs of government, to the management of which he found himself altogether unequal. The great lords taking the advantage of his weakness, oppressed the people: bands of desperate robbers infested various parts of the nation with impunity; and the populace of London became so mutinous and unruly, that the king was obliged to exercise some severities, in order to prevent an open sedition. A quarrel breaking out between the inhabitants and monks of Norwich about their privileges, the common people attacked the monastery, set fire to the gates, burned an adjoining parish-church, with the almonry, priory, refectory, dormitory, and all the buildings in the outward court; then forcing the convent, murdered several monks in the cloisters, insulted and imprisoned the rest, carried off the consecrated vessels, the church treasure, vestments, library, and all the moveables which had escaped the flames; and this scene of blood, fire, and rapine, continued for three days successively. The king summoned a parliament at St. Edmundsbury, to concert measures for punishing the authors of this disturbance, who were already excommunicated by the bishop of Norwich; and, in consequence of the deliberations of his prelates and nobility, went thither and deprived the cities of its liberties. An inquest was appointed; and the criminals being tried by the itinerant justices, thirty of the most notorious offenders were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and burnt; the effects of those who fled were confiscated, and some ecclesiastics suspected of having countenanced the riot, were delivered over to the bishop for their trial or purgation.

A. C. 1272.

Henry having stayed twelve days at Norwich, returned to St. Edmundsbury, where he was seized with the malady which put a period to his life. He had already lost his brother Richard, king of the Romans, who is said to have been so deeply affected by the untimely death of his son Henry, that he never after enjoyed his health and spirits; at last he was struck with a palsy, which conveyed him to his grave, leaving a son called Edmund, who succeeded him as earl of Cornwall. Henry deeply felt the loss of this brother, who had assisted him with his advice in all emergencies, and supported his authority; and, in a former indisposition, the king had appointed him guardian of the realm. His death must therefore have sat heavy upon Henry, and doubtless co-operated with his own distemper, which increasing daily, he ordered himself to be moved by easy journeys to Westminster; there finding his end fast approaching, he sent for the earl of Gloucester, and insisted upon his swearing to preserve the peace of the kingdom, and to the utmost of his power maintain the interest of his son Edward. That same night he expired, and next morning the great seal was delivered to Walter, archbishop of York, and the lords of the privy council*. Henry was of a middle size and robust make, and his countenance had a peculiar cast from his left eye-lid, which hung down so far as to cover part of his eye. The particulars of his character may be gathered from the detail of his conduct. He was certainly a prince of very mean talents; irresolute, inconstant, and capricious; proud, insolent and arbitrary; arrogant in prosperity, and abject in adversity; profuse, rapacious, and chole-

A. C. 1272.
King Henry's death
and character.

* He was buried before the high altar in Westminster Abbey. His children that survived him were, Edward who succeeded him on the throne, Edmund earl of Lancaster, Margaret queen of Scotland, and Beatrix dutchess of Bretagne: he had four younger sons and a daughter, who died in their infancy.

A. C. 1272. ric, though destitute of liberality, oeconomy, and courage. Yet his continence was praise-worthy, as well as his aversion to cruelty ; for he contented himself with punishing the rebels in their effects, when he might have glutted his revenge with their blood. He was prodigal even to excess ; and therefore always in necessity. Notwithstanding the great sums he levied from his subjects, and though his occasions were never so pressing, he could not help squandering away his money upon worthless favourites, without considering the difficulty he always found in obtaining supplies from parliament.

OF THE CHURCH.

From the conquest to the death of Henry III.

WILLIAM I. may be said to have conquered the church as well as the state. Many sees were filled with Norman prelates; many churches converted into lay-fees, and many abbeys bestowed upon the king's countrymen, to whom were appropriated the tythes of other churches held by the English. Whatever obligations William had to the pope, he understood his own importance too well to suffer innovations of the court of Rome; he directed the conduct of his clergy in cases of a double election; nor could any ecclesiastical censures of consequence be issued without his warrant. The first ecclesiastical synod after the conquest was held at Winchester, where Hermenfride, bishop of Sion, with Peter and John, two priest-cardinals, presided in the name of the pope. The intention of this assembly was to depose Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, who was accused of holding that see and the bishopric of Winchester at the same time; of having worn, first, the pall of Robert; his predecessor, and of having afterwards received one from Benedict X. who was an usurper. The first article was certainly an abuse; for which, however, he did not deserve privation. He pleaded that he only wore the pall of his predecessor until another could be obtained for himself; and with respect to Benedict, that there was no other pontiff at that time in the papal chair. Notwithstanding this defence, he was deprived of his bishoprics and thrown into prison, where he ended his days. Agilmar, bishop of the East-Angles, underwent the same fate. Another synod was held at Windsor, where

William the Conqueror acts as superior of the Anglican church,

A. C. 1070

Algeric, bishop of the South-Saxons, and many abbots were arbitrarily deposed, for no other crimes but that they were Englishmen. Those assemblies took into consideration the following articles: The introduction of bishops and abbots by symoniacal heresy: Promiscuous ordination by means of money: The life and conversation of men so ordained: The celebration of councils by bishops twice a year: The ordinations of archdeacons and other ministers in their own churches: The free power of the bishops over the clergy and laity of their own dioceses: The penance of laymen recommended by bishops and priests: The apostacy of clerks and monks. It was likewise ordained that the fees of bishops should be ascertained; that laymen should pay tythes; that no person should invade the goods of the church; that no clerks should bear secular arms; that clerks and monks should be duly revered; and a curse was pronounced against those who should do otherwise.

Brompton.
Malmesbur.
Ingulph.

Lanfranc is
invested,
with a lega-
tine power.

Stigand was succeeded in the archbishopric of Canterbury by Lanfranc, a native of Pavia in the dutchy of Milan, whose learning and spirit had recommended him to William, who had raised him to the abbacy of Caen in Normandy. This prelate, upon his promotion to the see of Canterbury, impeached Wulstan bishop of Worcester, before the synod, for insufficiency in his office; though the true cause of this prosecution was a claim put in by Wulstan to certain lands which had been alienated from his see, when it was joined to that of York. The Saxon, however, made his claim good, and baffled all the arts of his antagonist. Thomas, canon of Bayeux, was promoted to the archbishopric of York, and Walceline, one of William's chaplains, to the see of Winchester: but these foreigners soon quarrelled among themselves. The archbishop of York, at his consecration, refused to
fwear

swear canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury; though, in consequence of the king's express injunction, he professed personal obedience to Lanfranc, but not to his successors. These two prelates going afterwards to Rome to obtain the pall, were very differently received by his holiness, who cared for Lanfranc, but deprived Thomas of his ring and pastoral staff, because he was the son of a priest; and he treated the bishop of Lincoln in the same manner for simony; though they were afterwards restored by Lanfranc, whom the pope vested with a legatine power for this and other purposes.

The dispute about precedency between the two archbishoprics was now resumed, and after a full hearing in an assembly of the clergy, decided in favour of Canterbury: the river Humber was fixed as the boundary between the two sees, and the archbishop of York obliged to quit his pretensions to the dioceses of Lincoln, Litchfield, and Worcester. But it was decreed, that his jurisdiction should extend over all the island to the north of the Humber. In a council held at Winchester, it was ordained, among other canons, that no bishop should hold two dioceses; that the sacrament should not be administered in beer, but in wine mixed with water; that dead bodies should not be buried in churches; and that chalices should not be made of wax or wood. About this time a certain penance was imposed upon every soldier who had been in actual service; and the pope's legate approved the ordinance, importing that a soldier shall do penance a year for every man he has slain in battle; for every single man he has struck, forty days; and if he knows not the number of men he has slain or struck, he shall do penance one day in every week, at the discretion of the bishop as long as he lives, or redeem it with perpetual alms, by building or endowing a church.

Dispute concerning precedency, between the sees of Canterbury and York.

A. C. 1075.
 'Transacti-
 ons of the
 fynod of
 London con-
 vened by
 Lanfranc.

In the next fynod convened by Lanfranc at London, it was ordained that bishops should take place according to the time of their ordination, unless their sees enjoyed the privilege of precedency by antient custom; that no person should presume to speak in fynods but bishops or abbots, without leave of the metropolitan; that no person should marry within the seventh degree of consanguinity of his own kindred, or the kindred of a deceased wife, or the widow of a deceased kinsman; that no bishop, abbot, or clergyman, should sit as judge in a cause of life or limb; that no canon should have a wife; that such priests as lived in castles or villages should not be obliged to dismiss their wives, if they were already married, but those who had none should live in celibacy; and no bishops should ordain priest or deacon, until he should have first declared himself unmarried; that no clergyman should pay any other service for his benefice, than what he paid in the reign of king Edward; that laymen accused of any crime should be summoned three several times by the bishop: if they refused to obey the third summons, they should be excommunicated; if they afterwards came to make satisfaction, they should pay a forfeiture for every summons; and that no churches should be supplanted for want of charters to ascertain their rights and privileges. William the Conqueror seems to have considered himself as the head of the Anglicane church; for he disposed of benefices according to his own pleasure; separated the ecclesiastical from the civil jurisdiction by an express mandate; refused homage to Gregory VII. the most enterprising pontiff that ever filled the papal chair; and granted a charter to Battle-Abbey in Suffex, founded by himself, in which he acts as supreme ordinary of the church, in exempting the abbot and convent from episcopal visitation.

Johnson's
 Col. of Ca-
 nons,

Lanfranc dying in the succeeding reign, the profits of the archbishopric were returned into the exchequer for three years, as well as those of Lincoln, and all other churches and abbeys then vacant. In this interval a schism broke out in the church of Rome, by a competition for the papal chair, between Odo bishop of Ostia, who assumed the name of Urban II. and Guibert of Ravenna, known by the appellation of Clement III. Rufus, by owning neither, was troubled with no claims of ecclesiastical authority over the sees of his kingdom. The archbishopric was filled with Anselm, who obtained from the king a promise for the restitution of the lands which had been alienated from the see during its vacancy. The particulars of this prelate's struggles with the crown have been already related in the civil history of that period. He acknowledged pope Urban, against the express command of his sovereign; and during his absence from England he assisted at the council of Bari, where he signalized himself in the dispute with the Greek prelates, concerning the procession of the holy spirit. He was also present at another council held at Rome in the same year, which was rendered remarkable by the death of Osmund bishop of Salisbury, earl of Dorset, and privy counsellor to the Conqueror; a prelate who composed a service for his church of Sarum with so much piety and judgment, that it was afterwards adopted by all the churches in England, Wales, and Ireland.

A. C. 1089.
He is succeeded by Anselm.

A. C. 1099.

William the Conqueror, in his disputes with Stigand and some other bishops, had desired the pope to send a legate to preside in the councils which were convened on purpose to depose those prelates: and this was drawn into a precedent; for Henry I. no sooner mounted the throne, than the pope sent Guy archbishop of Vienna to London, in quality of legate, with a power extending over the

Legates refused admission into the kingdom.

whole island : but the English clergy looking upon this envoy as an encroacher upon their privileges, remonstrated in such manner, that the king would not allow the legate to exercise his authority in England. Henry had divers disputes with the court of Rome on the same subject. Conon, legate in France, under the papacy of Paschal II. summoned the bishops of Normandy to the councils which he convoked in that kingdom, and excommunicated them on their refusal to obey his citation. Henry, incensed at the legate's presumption, sent the bishop of Exeter with complaints to the pope, who thought proper to give the satisfaction he demanded. This king being afterwards in Normandy, the abbot Anselm, nephew to the archbishop of Canterbury of the same name, presented to him a commission, empowering him to exercise the legatine authority in England; and Henry consulting the bishops on this subject, they unanimously declared that this legation was contrary to the privileges of the Anglicane church. The archbishop himself undertook to carry their remonstrance to the pope, and actually set out for Rome; but understanding that his holiness had retired to Beneventum before the arms of the emperor, he desisted from his journey, and sent the representation in writing. Paschal considering the situation of his affairs, was unwilling to give umbrage to the English nation, but at the same time equally averse to relinquish the right of sending over legates occasionally; he therefore returned an ambiguous answer, which, though by no means satisfactory to the bishops, the king interpreted in favour of the Anglicane church, and hindered the legate from executing his commission.

A. C. 1136. Some years after this period, Honorius II. sent cardinal John de Crema into England, with the title of legate; but it was not without great difficulty that he was received, after having stayed a long

long time in Normandy. He assembled a synod at London, touching the marriage of priests; but in the writs of summons it was expressly declared, that the council was convoked by the order and with the concurrence of the archbishop of Canterbury. Although this legate knew his arrival was not at all agreeable to the English, he affected, in the exercise of his legation, an insolence of deportment which not a little increased their disgust. He insisted upon officiating in the church of Canterbury, although he was not a bishop; and in the council at London he ordered his seat to be raised like a throne, above the two archbishops and all the nobility of the kingdom. In the reign of Stephen, Alberic bishop of Ostia was received as the pope's legate in England without opposition, because the king was so precariously situated that he durst not oppose the innovations of Rome. While this prince sat upon the throne, the pope invested his brother Henry bishop of Winchester with the legatine power, to the prejudice of Theobald archbishop of Canterbury. This distinction produced a quarrel between the two prelates, from which the court of Rome derived great advantages; for, upon this occasion, both parties appealed to the Roman see, which before that time had been very little troubled with English disputes and references. After a long contest, the bishop of Winchester was deprived of his legation by pope Celestin II. who conferred it upon his rival as a free gift of the holy see. The court of Rome would, in all probability, have extended its usurpation still farther, had not the schisms which happened in this age kept its ambition within bounds. After the death of Honorius, there was a double election of Innocent and Anaclet, who divided all Europe with their competition; and both France and England observed for

some time a neutrality, during which time they paid no regard to either.

Advantages
which the
popes derived
from cru-
sades,

But what Rome lost by schisms she regained by crusades, which never failed to extend her authority. The first was preached by Urban II. with such effect, that a vast army of christians, from all parts of Europe, took the cross and set out for Palestine, from whence they expelled the Saracens, and founded the kingdom of Jerusalem, which lasted about ninety years: but the country was afterwards reconquered by the infidels; and, in order to regain the footing which the christians had lost, divers new crusades were instituted, from which the popes drew manifold advantages. These expeditions furnished them with pretexts to intermeddle in all the affairs of Christendom; to divert princes from other designs, which were incompatible with the papal interest or ambition; to impose taxes on the clergy of different kingdoms; and to destroy those potentates who presumed to oppose their usurpations; for they pretended that it was as necessary for the glory of God, to exterminate heretics as to war against infidels; and as it was their peculiar prerogative to determine what was and what was not heresy, they had it always in their power to publish and preach up crusades against such princes as incurred their displeasure.

Bishop of
Winchester
legate in
England.

As the authority of the popes increased, that of the prelates and national synods visibly diminished; for by an appeal to the see of Rome, their canons and ordinances were frequently annulled and reversed. We have already taken notice of John de Crema, and in the history mentioned the circumstance of his disgrace, in consequence of which he quitted the kingdom. William Corboyl, who had succeeded to the see of Canterbury, solicited a legate power for himself; and by this application,

tacitly gave up the right enjoyed by his predecessors, who always assembled national synods by virtue of their metropolitan power. When he was invested with this dignity he convoked a synod, in which nothing of moment was transacted, except some decrees against the clergy who kept wives or concubines. After the death of Corboyl, the see of Canterbury remained vacant, till the pope's legate Albericus held a synod at Westminster, when it was resolved that an archbishop should be chosen; and the election fell upon Theobald abbot of Bec, who went to Rome for the pall, and there assisted at a council held by pope Innocent II. together with the bishops of Worcester, Coventry, and Exeter. Notwithstanding the elevation of Theobald, the bishop of Winchester exercised the legatine authority; by virtue of which he convoked a council at London, in presence of his brother Stephen, when it was decreed, among other canons for regulating church-discipline, that a person, who violated a church or church-yard, or laid violent hands on a clerk, should not be absolved by any prelate but the pope himself; and that husbandmen should enjoy the same peace in the fields to which they were intitled in the church-yard.

A. C. 1138.

A. C. 1143.

Theobald, lately elected to the see of Canterbury, being complimented by the pope with the title of Legatus natus in England, began to dispute the authority of the legatine power vested in the bishop of Winchester; and the pope encouraged the contention, in order to reduce both to a greater dependence on his superiority. Accordingly each referred himself to the decision of his holiness, who determined at last in favour of Theobald; and this determination was followed by a number of appeals from England, which served to confirm the papal usurpation. William had been nominated to the see of York by Stephen, but opposed by Henry Murdach

Dispute about the election to the see of York, between Murdach and Winchester.

Murdach and the delegates from the chapter of York to the council of Rheims. The electors were divided between Murdach and Hilary bishop of Chichester; and the former was confirmed by the council, while William was deposed by pope Eugenius, though favoured by the majority of the cardinals. Thus deprived, he led a private life at Winchester, until the death of Murdach, when, renouncing all right that might accrue from his former election, he was chosen a-new, and made a journey to Rome, where, by his submissive behaviour and insinuating address, he procured the pope's confirmation, and received the pall. He was so popular, that when he returned to his own province, the great confluence of people that came to welcome his arrival broke down a bridge, tho' no life was lost, nor any other damage ensued; a circumstance which the spectators ascribed to the piety of the good bishop, which could not, however, protect his own life from treachery; for, in less than a month after his return, he is said to have been poisoned by a priest in a consecrated chalice.

A. C. 1159.

Council of
Cashell in
Ireland.

In the reign of Henry II. the famous charter, granted by the conqueror to Battle-Abbey, was disputed by the bishop of Chichester, as being contrary to the canons; but we know not how this controversy was determined. Upon the death of the English pope Adrian, a schism ensued between Alexander III. and Victor IV. the party of the former being espoused by Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, who prevailed with Henry to declare for the same pontiff in a synod held in Normandy, at which the agents of both competitors were present. It was in the course of the next year that a council was called in England against those wretched heretics called Publicans, whom we have already mentioned under this reign. Theobald, after having filled
the

the see of Canterbury for two and twenty years, was succeeded by Thomas Becket, whose disputes with king Henry have been already related. Under this prince, the jurisdiction of the English church was extended by the conquest of Ireland, though the bishops of that country, even before it was conquered, had in some measure professed canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury. After Henry had regulated the first settlements of the English in that kingdom, a synod was held at Cashel, in which Nicholas, one of his chaplains, and Ralf archdeacon of Landaff, assisted. Here it was decreed, that the Irish should not marry within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity; that the children should be catechised, and then receive baptism; that all christians should pay the tythes of their effects to the parish-churches in which they dwelled; that the lands of the church should be exempted from all services and burdens imposed by the laity; that the chieftains should no longer exact entertainment and free quarter for themselves or their families upon the estates of the clergy; that when a layman compounded for murder, no clergyman, though his relation, should be obliged to pay any part of the fine; that all masters of families, when visited by sickness, should make their wills in presence of their confessors and neighbours, and divide their goods and chattels into three portions; one for the benefit of the children, another to the wife, and the remainder set aside to defray the expence of the funeral; that those who were confessed immediately before death, should be buried with the usual ceremonies; and that the Irish should, for the future, conform in all their rituals to the model of the church of England.

After the murder of Thomas Becket, prince Henry, in his father's absence, ordered Odo prior of Canterbury to proceed to a new election: and the

Difference
between
Richard of
Canterbury
and Roger
of York.

the prior making a voyage to Normandy to consult the king, was desired to use his interest in behalf of the bishop of Bayeux, who did not, however, obtain that dignity. We have already observed, in the history of Henry II. that the choice of the convent fell upon Roger abbot of Bec, who declined the honour; and then they chose Richard prior of Dover, against whom young Henry appealed to the pope; so that he was obliged to make a journey to Rome, where he was consecrated, and received the pall from his holiness. This new archbishop at his return convened a provincial synod at London; but Roger archbishop of York refused to appear in this council, because his cross was not allowed to be carried before him within the province of Canterbury; and the sees of Lincoln, Chester, Worcester, and Hereford, were not considered as dioceses annexed to the see of York. The clergy of this province demanded satisfaction of the archbishop of Canterbury for excommunicating the clergy of St. Oswald in Gloucester, because they would not submit to him as their metropolitan; and the clergy of St. Asaph petitioned that their bishop Godfrey, who had been driven from his diocese by the commotions of the Welsh, should be restored to his function. Godfrey however, who was guardian of the vacant abbey of Abingdon, resigned the bishopric, and the king filled up the abbey with another person; so that he found himself deprived of both livings. The decrees of this synod were levelled against the libertinism of the clergy and symoniacal practices; enjoining the payment of tythes; regulating the number of prefaces in the sacred catalogue; the manner of administering the eucharist; and prohibiting private marriages, especially between parties under the age prescribed by the canons. In the course of the ensuing year, another synod was held

at Northampton, to which Henry summoned the king of Scotland and his clergy to own the superiority of the English church. They accordingly appeared at the time appointed; and as each archbishop claimed this superiority, the Scot made a handle of their dispute to refuse the submission; yet that he might not involve himself in a quarrel with Henry, he referred his cause to the determination of the pope, who sent cardinal Vivian over to England, with power to discuss and decide the controversy. But the Scottish king perceiving that this legate was more bent upon extorting money than upon the arbitration of the difference, would not suffer him to enter his country until he had sworn he would attempt nothing to the prejudice of his crown and kingdom. It was in the course of this year that the indecent fray happened in a synod at Westminster, between the two archbishops, about precedency, in presence of Hugezun the pope's legate. We have already related that incident, and shall only add, that, by the intercession of the king, the two primates laid aside all animosity for five years, until the pleasure of the pope should be known; and Alexander decreed, that neither metropolitan should claim precedency of the other, but according to the seniority of the ordination.

Hoveden.
Benedict.

In consequence of the pope's remonstrance to Henry, concerning certain hardships sustained by the clergy, he granted the following concessions to the importunities of Peter Leon sent over to negotiate this affair: No clerk shall be prosecuted in a secular court for any trespass or crime, nor appear personally in any action, unless the matter relates to the king's forests, or the fee is lay, and of consequence liable to service due to the king or some secular lord: No archbishopric, bishopric, or abbey, shall be kept vacant in the king's hands longer than one year, except upon urgent necessity: Those

Concessions
granted by
the king to
the clergy.

who

who are convicted, or confess the murder of any clerk, shall be punished by the justiciary of England, in presence of the diocesan: Clerks shall not be compelled to maintain their titles or character by single combat. The Scottish clergy are said to have submitted about this time to the archbishop of York as their metropolitan; but this dependency is absolutely denied by the writers and historians of that country, who challenge the English to produce any authentic acknowledgement of this submission, or to prove that any Scottish prelate was then consecrated by the archbishop of York, or his licence. The heresy of the Albigenses now began to gain ground in France and England, notwithstanding the king's endeavours; which proving ineffectual, they were excommunicated. Their tenets nearly resembled those that are at present professed by the protestants, though clouded over with the gloom of superstition. The pope convoked a lateran council, to prevent abuses arising from the controverted elections of popes; and a great number of prelates from England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well as from other counties, assisted at this assembly. It was here decreed, that no pope should be deemed duly elected, without the concurrence of two thirds of the electing cardinals; that the heretics should be proscribed; that no person should be promoted to a bishopric, unless he was turned of thirty, and well recommended for his learning; that no benefice should be promised away before a vacancy, or kept longer than six months vacant; that clergymen should not intermeddle in secular affairs, nor parochial priests enjoy pluralities; that bishops should maintain those whom they have ordained, until they can be provided with livings; that Jews and Infidels shall not be permitted to keep christian slaves; that usurers, and those who plundered people who had suffered

Collier.

A lateran
council.

shipwreck, should be held as excommunicated; that the retinue of archbishops should be limited to fifty horse, bishops to thirty, legates to five and twenty, and archdeacons to seven; that tilts and tournaments should be laid aside, on severe penalties; that every cathedral should furnish a school-master to teach the children gratis; that laymen should not grant tythes to one another; nor any clerk visit a nunnery without sufficient cause. Immediately before this council, the abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury put himself and his society under the protection of the pope, that he might be exempted from the profession of canonical obedience to the archbishop, who complained loudly of this encroachment upon his right, and wrote an expostulatory letter to his holiness; in which he charges the court of Rome with a design to subvert the power of the bishops in behalf of religious houses. This remonstrance had such an effect upon the pope, that although he granted the exemption to the abbot, it was clogged with a salvo in favour of the archbishop's dignity and prerogative.

Geoffry the king's natural son had been elected into the see of Lincoln, and enjoyed the revenues for seven years, without being consecrated; at last the pope offered him the alternative of receiving or relinquishing all ecclesiastical preferment; and he accordingly resigned his diocese into the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury. A dispute still subsisted between that prelate and the abbot of St. Augustine's, who pleaded an exemption from archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and refused to produce his charters until he was expressly commanded by the pope; and then they appeared with such flagrant marks of forgery, that no regard was paid to their contents. The bishop of Rochester dying at this period, the metropolitan of Canterbury seized

Geoffry
elect of
Lincoln re-
signs his see.

A. C. 1183.

Vivian the
legate's prac-
tices in Ire-
land.

seized the temporalities, in right of his superiority over that see; and his claim being allowed by Henry, who was then greatly distressed in Normandy, the archbishop filled the vacancy with Walleran archdeacon of Bayeux. Pope Lucius being oppressed by the citizens of Rome, had recourse for assistance to Henry, who being at this time in Normandy, issued a sum of money out of the royal exchequer for the relief of his holiness; but would not suffer the legate to proceed to England, and introduce a custom which might be detrimental to his subjects; especially as there was another legate already employed in fleecing his people. Vivian having spunged England and Scotland, had crossed the sea to Ireland, where he laid the clergy under contribution, and even instigated the Irish to rebel against the English, who took the city of Downe while he resided in the place, and compelled him to take sanctuary in the cathedral: but, being furnished with passports from the court of England, he was treated with great respect, and afterwards held a national council at Dublin, where he attempted to bring the church of Ireland to an entire conformity with that of Rome, and to exact money from the inhabitants. He was disappointed however in both aims by the vigilance of the English government, and leaving that kingdom, returned to Scotland.

Geoffry pro-
moted to the
see of York,
and Baldwin
to that of
Canterbury.

As the state and church affairs were very much interwoven in this reign, we have in the civil history given a detail of the dispute which happened between the monks of St. Augustine's and the suffragans of Canterbury, about the election of a prelate to succeed Richard, together with Henry's design of electing a society of regular canons at Hackington, which was prevented by the pope's interposition. Baldwin the new archbishop likewise formed a scheme for bringing the monks of
Christ-

Christ-Church intirely under his subjection; but was baffled by their superior interest at the court of Rome. At Henry's death, the sees of York, Winchester, Ely, Salisbury, and London, were vacant; and at an ecclesiastical synod held by Richard at Pipewell in Northamptonshire, the archbishopric was conferred upon Geoffry, the king's natural brother, formerly elect of Lincoln; William Lonchamp, chancellor and prime-minister to Richard, was elected bishop of Ely; Winchester was bestowed upon Godfrey de Lucy; London was given to Richard archdeacon of Ely; and Salisbury to Hugh Walter dean of York. Geoffry was obliged to pay a round sum to the king before he would approve of his election, and the archbishop of Canterbury entered a claim to the privilege of giving him consecration. This produced a dispute that still depended, when the cardinal of Anagni was sent as legate by the pope, to adjust the difference between the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury; but the king forbade him by a mandate to proceed farther than Dover, without his exprefs order. Yet when Richard, in conjunction with the queen-mother and the archbishops of Rouen and Dublin, had effected a solid accommodation, the legate was invited to Canterbury. This was a revival of the former dispute about the canonical obedience, building the church at Hackington, and forcing a prior upon the convent. By the pacification it was agreed that the church should be left unfinished, the prior laid aside, and the monks profess canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury. The opposition against Geoffry elect of York was now increased; the bishops of Durham and Salisbury protested against the election, because it was made in their absence; the dean and treasurer of York excepted to his person, because he had been born in adultery, and concerned in

bloodshed while he fought against the rebels in defence of his father's government. These protests were followed by appeals to the pope, who impowered the legate to decide the affair. It was accordingly brought to a hearing, when he determined in favour of the elect; the king prevailed upon his opposers to withdraw their appeals, and the archbishop of Canterbury attending Richard in his expedition to Palestine, the disputes concerning his consecration were removed. Baldwin dying at the siege of Ptolemais, the king wrote to his mother in favour of Hubert bishop of Salisbury, who likewise accompanied him in the crusade; and that prelate was chosen as his successor in the see of Canterbury. When Richard returned, the clergy of York complained to the pope of their archbishop, whom they accused of divers irregularities, and of discouraging appeals to the court of Rome. His holiness immediately granted a commission to the bishop of Lincoln, the archdeacon of Northampton, and the prior of Pontefract, for trying the archbishop; and suspending him, if guilty, unless he would in three months make his personal appearance at Rome. Geoffry paid very little regard to this injunction; and as the bishop of Lincoln refused to execute the pope's order, that pontiff suspended Geoffry from all temporal and spiritual jurisdiction.

Mean while Hubert archbishop of Canterbury was vested with a legatine commission, by virtue of which he held an assize and synod at York, where he enacted some canons to prevent and reform the avarice and corruption of priests, as well as the practice of false swearing, against which they denounced the sentence of excommunication. After this progress the metropolitan, as we have observed in another place, erected a chapel at Lambeth, with a view to establish secular canons, according

Dispute between Hubert archbishop of Canterbury and the monks of St. Augustine.

Johnson's Canons.

to the scheme formerly projected at Hackington; but the monks of Canterbury having recourse again to the see of Rome, the pope ordered him to desist from his design. Hubert had not such weight and influence with his holiness at that time as he afterwards acquired under the succeeding reign, when Giraldus Cambrensis the historian being elected bishop of St. David's, laid claim to the right of metropolitan over the sees of Landaff, Bangor, St. Asaph, Chester, Hereford, and Worcester, and refused to profess canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury; but Hubert's interest proved too powerful for Giraldus, who was obliged to renounce his election, and another was consecrated in his room. At the same time the dispute between the archbishop and the monks was reconsidered and compromised: he was allowed to build the church at Lambeth, but limited in the number of canonries and in the value of the endowments. At the next national synod, held at Westminster, A. C. 12004 some canons were made touching the celebration of baptism and the payment of tythes, which was always enforced in every council; and all Templars, Hospitallers, or other religious, were forbidden to receive tythes from laymen, without the consent of the bishop. In the succeeding year, one Eustace abbot of Flay, supposing that the Lord's-day ought to begin at three o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, and continue till Monday at sun-rising, produced a forged letter, pretended to be written by Christ himself against the practice of profaning the Sabbath, and found on the altar of St. Simeon at Golgotha near Jerusalem. Tho' he himself contrived this imposture, his zeal got the better of his senses. In the actual belief that this letter was genuine, he preached all over England against the impiety of breaking the Lord's-day, and wrought up his hearers to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that

Imposture of
Eustace ab-
bot of Flay.

they looked upon him as an apostle ; and all markets, fairs, and labour, which had been held or practised on Sunday, were now laid aside.

The twelfth
council of
the lateran.

A. C. 1206.

Mat. Paris.

In the history of John's reign we have been so circumstantial in relating his disputes with the pope, that very few ecclesiastical affairs of any consequence remain to be recorded. The pope being desirous of levying an extraordinary Romescot or St. Peter's penny, the bishops assembled a synod to deliberate upon his demand ; but the king forbidding them to proceed, they separated without having come to any resolution. Nevertheless, a legate, named Florentin, convoked another council at Reading, upon the same subject ; and as if the clergy had influenced the king's refusal, he extorted from them a subsidy in lieu of the extraordinary Romescot, which would have affected the whole kingdom. We have already mentioned the councils that were assembled to regulate the restitution to the exiled bishops, after John's reconciliation with his holiness ; but we shall take notice of the twelfth council of the lateran, held, during this reign, by pope Innocent III. at which four hundred and twelve bishops assisted. This assembly enacted fourscore canons ; one of which in formal terms establishes the doctrine of transubstantiation ; but the third seems to have been calculated for raising the ecclesiastical power on the ruins of all civil right and authority : by this the council decreed that all sovereigns should be required and solicited, and, if need were, constrained by ecclesiastical censures to promise upon oath that they would exert their endeavours to exterminate heretics from their dominions : That the same oath should be exacted from all persons promoted to any dignity spiritual or temporal : That if any temporal lord refused to purge his country or demesnes of heretics, after having been summoned for that purpose,

purpose, he should be excommunicated by the metropolitan, assisted by his suffragans; in case of contempt or refusal of satisfaction within one year, that the pope should declare his subjects and vassals absolved from their oath of allegiance; and at the same time exhort the catholic princes to fall upon his territories, saving the right of paramount to the sovereign of the fief, provided there should be such a right; on condition however, that the sovereign should do nothing to the prejudice of this canon. A. C. 1216. In the fourteenth it was decreed that priests who abandoned themselves to debauchery in those places where marriage was permitted, should be more severely punished than those who lived in countries where they were obliged to profess celibacy. From which article we learn that the celibacy of the priests was not universally established.

The greatest part of the councils held in the long Councils in the reign of Henry III. reign of Henry III. were convoked, as we have elsewhere observed, to authorize and facilitate papal exactions. Such as related to religion, or produced any remarkable transaction, we shall briefly touch upon, according to the nature of our design, which does not admit of minute details and particular circumstances. Cardinal Langton assembled a provincial synod at Canterbury, in which three persons A. C. 1222. were condemned and delivered over to the secular arm: one of these called himself Jesus Christ, and pretended to shew the five wounds on his body: the second was an hermaphrodite, who consorted with this impostor; and the third was a deacon, who had undergone circumcision, in order to marry a Jewess, by whose beauty he had been captivated. The same prelate convoked another council, in which, among other regulations, a canon was enacted, confirming the prohibition of marriage in priests; so that the clergy of England seem to have neglected the former decrees on that subject. Otho,

the pope's legate, convoked a national synod in St. Paul's church in London; and, as he expected an opposition to the canon which he intended to pass against pluralities, he obtained of the king a guard of two hundred men. As soon as the prelates had taken their places, he ordered the canons which he had brought from Rome to be read; and when the article prohibiting pluralities was mentioned, Walter de Chantelou bishop of Winchester, and some others, opposed it with great vehemence, and even made protests; so that the legate declared it should remain in force only during the time of his legation: nevertheless, it was no sooner approved on this condition, than an ecclesiastic, in the legate's train, pronounced aloud a decree of the pope, ordaining it to be observed for ever. In the other canons it was decreed, that the number of the sacraments should be fixed to seven: others fixed the vigils of Easter and Pentecost; regulated the administrations of baptism; and enjoined the clergy to reside at their benefices at least one half of the year. At a council held in London, the clergy flatly refused to supply the legate with the money which he demanded for the expence of his legation; and when he assembled another synod in the course of the succeeding year, he met with no better success in demanding one fifth part of their revenues for the use of his holiness. All the ensuing councils for the space of four years, were convened on purpose to demand subsidies from the clergy. During the war of the barons, one was held at Reading, in which was confirmed the appeal of the barons from the proceedings of the legate, who resided at Boulogne: and in another convened at Northampton, the legate Otho excommunicated all the members of the clergy, who had engaged in the party of the earl of Leicester. The same cardinal assembled a national council in St. Paul's church at London, where

A. C. 1239.

A. C. 1266.

where he published certain constitutions, some of which make now a part of the canon law of the English church. The first allowed laymen to administer baptism, in case of necessity: the second forbade priests to take money for the administration of the sacraments: the ninth ordained ecclesiastics to reside at their benefices: the thirteenth confirmed the right of sanctuary to churches: the fourteenth decreed that marriages should be celebrated in public: the twentieth forbade commutation of penance: the twenty-third prohibited the alienation of any part of the tithes due to the parochial curates: the thirtieth was enacted against pluralities: the next forbade the practice of giving benefices in commendam, and vacated all those that were bestowed in such a manner: the thirty-second ordained that, before the consecration of a bishop, inquiry should be made, whether or not he possessed several benefices without a dispensation; and whether or not the dispensation was regular and authentic; the thirty-third annulled all previous bargains made between patrons and presentees.

Collier.
Johnson.

These are the principal councils held in England during the reign of Henry III. by which we see the progress of the papal power, and the state of the English clergy. It may be necessary, however, to observe, that the popes used the same artifice in passing unpopular canons, which has been of late years frequently practised to pass a ministerial bill in parliament; they tacked them to a number of other useful laws, which no member could oppose without subjecting himself to the imputation of raising obstacles to public utility. We likewise observe with what industry the court of Rome endeavoured to establish the celibacy of priests; what difficulty they found in fixing that regulation, especially in England, where we find married priests, in the latter end of this reign, even a prelate the

The eagerness with which the popes endeavoured to establish the celibacy of priests; and erect their decretals into canons.

son of a bishop; and in the time of Henry II. the pope expressing his surprize that the bishop of Ely had not gone to Rome to demand his confirmation, the English resident told his holiness, the elect had an evangelical excuse, for he had lately married a wife. We are told by Baronius, that a legate sent into Poland by pope Innocent III. to establish the celibacy of priests, had succeeded in his commission; but that he ran the risque of his life, by endeavouring to introduce the same custom in Bohemia. There was another article of great importance to the popes, which they did not fail to labour at with the utmost assiduity. This was to give their ordinances or decretals the same authority which was in the canons of councils. One Gratian published

A. C. 1150. a collection of decretals, containing all the ordinances which had been published to that time, that they might serve as rules for the administration of ecclesiastical justice. To this collection was added a number of decrees made in the sequel, so as to constitute a complete body of canon law. Raymond de Pignaford, penitentiary of Gregory IX. was employed to make this last collection, which was intituled, The second part of the Canon Law; and to this he joined some constitutions of councils, and decisions of doctors, posterior to the period at which it began. It was not only a supplement, but also, in some places, an alteration of the antient canon law: for example, it decrees that bastards cannot be admitted to ecclesiastical functions, without a dispensation from the pope. Thus the court of Rome arrogated to itself the power of favouring bastards occasionally, though contrary to the antient constitutions of councils. Indeed that court could not choose a more favourable conjuncture for publishing its decretals; for it was now at the very summit of its greatness. There was neither a prince or private person, who durst oppose the will of the pope

when he was determined to be obeyed. He therefore enacted laws very often opposite to those which had been formerly observed. The civil law of England considered children born before marriage, as illegitimate, even though their parents should have been afterwards joined in wedlock; but the canon law legitimated all such children: and this very ordinance produced violent debates in the parliament assembled at Merton.

A. C. 1236.

The popes had no sooner rendered themselves absolute masters of the church, than it was deluged with an inundation of religious orders, which might be compared to different bands of an army, raised to support the power and grandeur of the Roman pontiffs. The council of the lateran had endeavoured to prevent or reform this abuse, by expressly forbidding the institution of any new order of monks. Nevertheless, Dominic Gusman, a Spaniard, who had long preached against the Albigenses, formed the scheme of a new order, under the name of the Friars Preachers, for which he demanded the confirmation of pope Innocent III. That pontiff at first made some difficulty, on account of the prohibition; but he afterwards pretended to have had a celestial vision, by which he was given to understand, that he could not take any step that would be more advantageous to the church. Nevertheless, the order was not confirmed till the pontificate of his successor Honorius, when it was instituted under the name of the Friars Preachers, or Preaching Brothers, because the individuals were destined to preach against the heretics. They were likewise distinguished by the appellation of Dominicans; from the name of their founder, and in France called Jacobins, from the street of St. Jaques, where they had their first house in Paris. They were intrusted with the care of the inquisition, and rendered themselves famous by the

Institution of the order of dominicans, franciscans, and cross-bearers.

bar-

A. C. 1217.

barbarities they committed against the pretended heretics: and they settled in England in a very little time after their institution. The order founded by Francis d'Assisi was confirmed by the same pontiff; and, in the course of the year that succeeded their confirmation, they were settled in England. The monks out of modesty assumed the name of Minor Brothers; and though, in the sequel, they were divided into different societies, all of them owned St. Francis d'Assisi for their chief and founder. They were restricted, by their rules, from preaching or confessing in any diocese, without the permission of the bishop. This restriction, however, did not long continue: they represented to the pope, that many christians were ashamed to confess their sins to their own pastors; that several persons scrupled to perform their duty, because they knew the curates themselves guilty of the same transgressions; and that those priests had not discretion to keep the secrets with which they were entrusted. On these considerations, they desired and obtained a dispensation for that rule of their order. The dominicans and franciscans acquired such reputation for sanctity, that almost every person chose a director from one of those orders; consequently the churches they received, were very considerable: for a long time, the popes were elected from one or other of these societies; so that, by their credit at the court of Rome, they frequently obtained effects belonging to other orders, on pretence of the necessity for their being subsisted. They amassed prodigious wealth from benefactions of devout people, even in their life-time, as well as from donations and legacies extorted from dying people, by the threats or promises of future misery or salvation.

A. C. 1244.

In a council held at Rochester, a new order of monks, called Cross-bearers, demanded permission to settle in England; and produced a bull from the pope,

pope, forbidding all persons whatsoever to reproach or molest them, and empowering them to excommunicate those who should violate that privilege. The synod did not think proper to grant their request; but sent them back, on pretence of adhering to the canon passed in the council of the lateran.

The most remarkable ecclesiastics, who lived in England from the conquest to the death of Henry III. were the following: Aldred archbishop of York, who crowned William the Conqueror; he had been formerly bishop of Gloucester, and built the cathedral of that city: he was a pious and worthy prelate, and a great benefactor to the monastery of Beverley. Stigand archbishop of Canterbury was at first very much respected by William the Conqueror, though he afterwards procured his deposition: this prelate, being deprived of his dignity, was thrown into prison, because he refused to discover the place where his treasure was deposited: he died in confinement; and, after his death, a small key was found hanging to his neck, together with a paper describing the place where his wealth was concealed. Marianus Scotus, born in Scotland, retired at the age of thirty to the monastery of Cologne, from whence he was removed to the abbey of Fulde, where he wrote a chronicle, beginning at the creation, and ending in the year one thousand and eighty-two of the Christian æra: the Scots were at that time very well received in Germany, where fifteen monasteries were founded by a prince of their nation, who had served in the wars of Charlemagne, and all the abbots were natives of Scotland. Wulfstan bishop of Worcester was renowned for his piety, and said to have worked miracles, both before and after his death: we have already observed, that Lanfranc accused him, in a council, of ignorance and incapacity: his chief merit seems to have consisted

Remarkable
ecclesiastics:

Aldred.

Stigand.

A. C. 1028.

Marianus
Scotus.

Wulfstan.

Lanfranc.

consisted in an inoffensive life, and yet he had a considerable share of self-conceit; for when the monks, who attended him in his last moments, expressed their affliction at the prospect of losing such a pillar of the church, he bade them be of good cheer, for he should be able to patronize them more powerfully after his death, than ever he had been during the course of his life. Lanfranc was born at Pavia; and, after he had finished his studies, made a monk in the abbey of Bec in Normandy, where he taught logic with great reputation: he treated his brother monks with such contempt for their ignorance, that they conspired against him, and trumped up an accusation, which they presented to William the Conqueror before his expedition into England; he was therefore obliged to appear at court in his own justification; and, upon that occasion, insinuated himself so far into the favour of his sovereign, that he made him abbot of St. Stephen's at Caen, from whence he was afterwards removed to the see of Canterbury. The credit which he maintained during the reign of the Conqueror, declined under William Rufus, whom he had actually raised to the throne: he rebuilt the church of Canterbury, which had been burnt by the Danes, and limited the number of the monks of St. Augustine to one hundred and fifty; he likewise established a prior in that convent, whereas they were formerly governed by an abbot: he wrote a commentary on the epistles of St. Paul, and an ecclesiastical history which is not extant; but the most esteemed of all his works, was a treatise composed against Berenger, in defence of the real presence in the sacrament: notwithstanding this proof of his orthodoxy, Gregory VII. summoned him to appear at Rome, and give an account of his faith, on pain of suspension; but this order he never obeyed.

Anselm, abbot of Bec and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, made more noise than all the prelates of the English church, by his quarrels with William Rufus and Henry I. Clement the antipope being still alive, when Urban II. was elected, England refused to acknowledge either the one or the other; till Anselm, embroiling himself with William Rufus, declared openly for Urban, in order to thwart the king, who seemed to favour his competitor. William, resolving to humble him for his presumption, gave Urban to understand, that if he would send to him the pall designed for Anselm, so as that the bishop should receive it from his hands, he would reduce the church of England to his obedience. The pope agreed to the proposal, and sent the bishop of Alba into England, to transact the affair: William executed his engagement by acknowledging Urban in the most solemn manner; but, when he demanded the pall, the nuncio told him, that no bishop could receive it from the hands of a layman; so that he found himself outwitted by the craft of Rome. William never forgave the pope, nor the prelate, who was obliged to leave the kingdom, and continue abroad till the death of that monarch. During his residence at Rome, he assisted at a council, in which excommunication was denounced against all ecclesiastics, who, for the future, should receive the investiture of their benefices from the hands of laymen; and it was in consequence of this decree, that when he was recalled to England, by Henry I. he refused to do homage to that prince, or consecrate the bishops who had been invested by him. As this refusal affected the king's prerogative, he resented it highly; but that he might not break with Rome, at a time when the papal power was very formidable, he sent ambassadors to Paschal II. to complain of this encroachment, and desire he

Anselm's
dispute with
William
Rufus and
Henry I.

would

would order Anselm to conform to the customs of the kingdom. The pope refused to grant a request which was contrary to the decrees of several councils. Henry would not part with his rights; and commanded the archbishop to do him homage, and consecrate the prelates, who had received the investiture according to the usual form. Anselm still held out, and the king ordered him to quit the realm. He rejected this command; and the king's council was of opinion, that Henry should banish the archbishop, and renounce all dependence upon the pope. It was resolved, however, in a general assembly, that ambassadors should be sent to Rome, in order, if possible, to prevail upon the pope to desist from his pretensions. The archbishop of York and two other prelates were charged with this commission; and Anselm sent two agents at the same time to maintain his cause before his holiness. The ambassadors told the pope, that he must either relax in the article of investiture, or see Anselm banished, and all England withdrawn from its obedience to the Roman see. Paschal replied, that he would rather forfeit his own dignity, than give up the least tittle of his pretensions. Negotiations were ineffectually set on foot; and the dispute was enflamed to such a degree of animosity, that Paschal threatened to excommunicate the king, and Anselm was obliged to retire to Lyons. The difference, however, was at length compromised between Henry and the archbishop, by the mediation of Adela countess of Blois, the king's sister, who procured an interview between them, at the castle of L'Aigle in Normandy, where they discussed the articles of agreement; and the pope confirmed the accommodation. The king renounced the right of bestowing the investiture of benefices; and the pope permitted bishops and abbots to do homage to the sovereign, for the ecclesiastical fiefs

in their possession. Anselm composed several theological treatises, and was canonized in the reign of Henry VII. at the solicitation of cardinal Moreton.

Gilbert bishop of London, in the reign of Henry I. was, on account of his learning, entituled Universalist: he composed a commentary on the Psalms of David, and an exposition of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. We have already mentioned Osmond bishop of Salisbury, who was earl of Dorset, and privy-counsellor to William the Conqueror; and that the liturgy which he composed, was adopted by all the dioceses in England. Malachy, archbishop of Armagh in Ireland, was famous for his predictions about the popes that occupied St. Peter's chair, after the time in which he lived. His prophecies are still extant, and written in such an ambiguous manner, as to admit of any sort of interpretation: his life was written by St. Bernard. Ingulph was known to William before his conquest, when he visited Edward the Confessor; he served that prince in the station of secretary, and afterwards went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. At his return he became a monk in the abbey of Fontevrand, from whence he was removed by William, who created him abbot of Croyland, where he died, after having writ the history of his convent, inserted in the collection of old English historians. Joffrid, his immediate successor in that monastery, is said, by some authors, to have been the first who opened schools at Cambridge, where he settled four of his monks as professors. Godfrid, prior of the monastery of Winchester, was one of the best writers of the age. Among other works, he composed a panegyric upon the primates of England: he reformed the stile of the breviary, which abounded with barbarisms; and is said by Alford, to have been the real corrector of the liturgy, which passed under

Of Gilbert
bishop of
London.

Malachy
archbishop
of Armagh.

Ingulph the
historian.

Joffrid,

Godfrid.

John of Sa-
lisbury.

under the name of Osmund bishop of Sarum. John of Salisbury was one of the ornaments of the English church, renowned for his knowlege, politeness, and morality: he was the intimate friend of pope Adrian IV. who often complained to him of the care and troubles that attended the possession of St. Peter's chair; he attached himself to the fortune of Thomas Becket whom he followed to France, and by whose means he obtained the bishopric of Chartres: he wrote a book intituled Polycraticon, or de Nugis Curialium. As for Thomas Becket and Stephen Langton, we have elsewhere described their characters at large. Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, who attended Richard to the Holy Land, passed for a good theologian; and some of his books still extant justify that encomium. Hugh bishop of Lincoln, a native of Grenoble, was one of the most illustrious prelates of the Anglicane church, under the reigns of Richard I. and John. His censures were very much dreaded among his diocefans, because they observed that those whom he excommunicated were generelly overtaken, even in this life, by the judgment of heaven. He is said to have removed, by his sole authority, the tomb of Rosamond, mistress of Henry II. from the church of Godstow in Oxfordshire, where it stood in the middle of the choir, covered with black velvet, and surrounded with wax tapers: though he was told that the tomb had been placed there by the king's order, he thought it was scandalous that the monument of a loose woman occupied such a sacred place. He died in great reputation for sanctity, and was canonized by Honorius III. During the quarrel between king John and the pope, an ecclesiastic called Alexander Cemenarius, who had been professor of theology in the university of Paris, publicly maintained in his sermons, that the pope had no power to deprive king's

Hugh bishop
of Lincoln.

Alexander
Cementa-
rius.

of their crowns; and by this doctrine he brought upon himself the persecution of the see of Rome, which reduced him to the condition of a common beggar. Walter Gray archbishop of York, distinguished himself as a minister of state, enriched his diocese with the addition of the lands of Thorpe, purchased with his own money, and built a magnificent structure, which was at first called York-palace, but afterwards known by the name of Whitehall. Edmund, who, from a canonicate of Salisbury, was promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, after the pope had annulled three elections in his favour, was a prelate of great moderation and regularity of life. He would have opposed the usurpations of Rome, had not the papal power been then at its summit in England; but finding it irresistible, he retired to the monastery of Pontigny in France, where he shortened his days by his austerities, and was canonized by pope Innocent IV. Richard Poor, at first bishop of Salisbury, and from thence translated to the see of Durham, persuaded the inhabitants of old Sarum to remove to the place which is now called Salisbury, where he founded a noble church that remains to this day. He likewise composed synodal constitutions for the use of his church, in eighty-seven articles, by one of which it plainly appears that the laity at that time communicated in both species. Alexander Hales, a native of Gloucester, so deeply skilled in the canon law, that he acquired the title of the irrefragable Doctor, was professor in the university of Paris; he composed annotations on the Bible and other works, that contain a great deal of logic and metaphysics. Siwald archbishop of York was an able theologian, of an irreproachable life: he modelled his conduct on that of Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, who had been his master; he was so provoked at the extortion of

Walter Gray
archbishop
of York.

Edmund
archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

Richard
Poor.

Alexander
Hales.

Siwald.

Rome, that he wrote a letter to the pope complaining of his exactions; and among other things observed, that when Jesus Christ gave charge of his sheep to St. Peter, he did not command him either to fleece or to slay his flock. In consequence of this remonstrance, and his refusing to admit certain Italians who brought provisions from the court of Rome, he was severely rebuked by his holiness, and at length excommunicated. In his last moments he complained bitterly of the pope's injustice, from which he appealed to the judgment of God Almighty. Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, was a prelate of extensive learning for the age in which he lived; being raised to the dignity of a cardinal, he resigned his archbishopric, and fixed his habitation in Rome. One of the most famous ecclesiastics of this age was Grosted bishop of Lincoln, a bold and resolute prelate, whom the favours of the court could not allure, nor the menaces of the pope intimidate; solely attached to the dictates of reason and equity, he had no respect of persons or circumstances, and opposed the king or the pope occasionally, according to the suggestions of his own conscience: by this fortitude, he acquired great reputation among the people, accustomed to see their bishops always submissive to one or other of those powers. Having one day excommunicated a sheriff, who refused to imprison a man who scoffed at the censures of the church; Henry III. was incensed at his having neglected to address himself on this occasion to the royal authority, and complained to the pope of his presumption. Grosted was obliged to make a journey to Rome, in order to justify his conduct; and there he was confirmed in his bad opinion of the papal power. He could not, without indignation, behold the best benefices of the kingdom conferred upon Italians, who neither resided upon their livings, nor understood the lan-

Robert Kilwarby.

Grosted bishop of Lincoln.

guage of the country; and because he refused to receive one of these foreigners into the richest living of his diocese, he was suspended by his holiness: Nevertheless he continued his functions at the desire of his flock, and still persisted in refusing to admit the pope's provisions in favour of other Italians, saying, that to intrust the care of souls with such ministers, would be to act in the name of the devil, and not by the authority of God. The pope, rather than run the risk of a total revolt in the church of England, winked at the disobedience of this prelate, who was extremely beloved by the people. He endeavoured to win him over to his interest by gentleness and insinuation; and, as a mark of his esteem, sent him a commission to reform some abuses which had crept into the monasteries. Notwithstanding this proof of his confidence and favour, Grosted afterwards inflamed his resentment, by making a calculation of the money drawn every year from England, by the Italian clergy who enjoyed livings in this kingdom: but as he would not venture to persecute the bishop upon this subject, which might have excited clamours dangerous to his interest, he sent a threatening brief to him, on account of his having refused to receive the papal provisions; and this the prelate tore and trampled under his feet, in sight of all his clergy. Not contented with having expressed his disdain in this manner, he wrote a letter to the pope with such spirit and freedom, as seems almost incredible, considering the superstition of those times, and the abject veneration with which the clergy in general obeyed the papal authority.

Mat. Paris,
Collier,
Johnson.

After this short sketch of church-transactions, and the characters of the prelates who distinguished themselves for their piety and learning, we shall now take a transient view of the historians who flourished in England, during this period of time.

A transient
view of the
historians.

Florence of
Worcester.

Florence monk of Worcester composed a chronicle of the world, from the creation to the year of Christ 1118, supposed to be an epitome of a larger work of the same nature, compiled by Marinus.

Alfred.

Alfred or Alfred, treasurer of the college of Beverly, began his history during the difference between Henry I. and Anselm archbishop of Canterbury.

Eadmer.

Eadmer was intimately connected with this prelate and wrote the history of the two Williams and Henry I. In the same age lived William of

William of
Malmesbury.

Malmesbury, whose chief work is intituled *De Gestis Anglorum*: he was patronized by Robert the renowned earl of Gloucester, of whom we have

Simeon of
Durham.

treated at large in the history of Stephen. Simeon of Durham was a monk of that place, of indefatigable industry in collecting the principal monuments of learning, which had escaped the Danish barbarity. He flourished in the reigns of Henry I.

and Stephen; and his history, which is chiefly taken from Florence of Worcester, reaches no farther than the year 1129. The chronicle of Melros was

composed by the abbot of Dundrainon, and contains many curious particulars relating to the kingdom of Northumberland. Henry archdeacon of

Henry of
Hunting-
don.

Huntingdon lived in the reigns of Henry and king Stephen, to the end of whose reign he has brought down his history, which is very defective in method,

and enterlarded with fabulous stories transcribed from Geoffry of Monmouth. Ealred, Etheldred,

Etheldred.

or Aldred, abbot of Rievesbury in Lincolnshire, was educated in Scotland, with Henry son to king David, and wrote the life of Edward the Confessor,

the history of the battle of the standard, and the genealogy of the kings of England. To this abbot

Gul. Neu-
brigensis.

Gulielmus Neubrigensis, or William monk of Neuburgh, dedicated his history, brought down to the year 1197. He was an elegant writer, and treats the work of Geoffry of Monmouth as a romance.

John

John prior of Hexham wrote a continuation of the history compiled by Simeon of Durham, to the year 1154: he lived in the reign of Richard I. and the same convent produced another historian in the person of prior Richard, who composed the history of king Stephen, and the war of the Standard. John of Hexham.

Ralph Diceto, dean of St. Paul's, lived in the reign of John, and wrote a chronicle of the British kings, from Brute to Cadwallader, and from Hengist to Harold: he was likewise author of Chronological Abbreviations, chiefly relating to ecclesiastical affairs, and the Imagines Historiarum, or a collection of historical hints, containing a long digression concerning wars between parents and children; and the account of an interview between John of England and the king of France, in the year 1199. Richard of Hexham.

Roger Hoveden was chaplain to Henry II. and wrote annals, beginning at the year 732, and continued down to the reign of king John: he borrowed largely from Simeon of Durham, and the writers that went before them; is confused in his narration; but his stile is intelligible, and his work contains very valuable materials. Ralph Diceto.

John Brompton, abbot of Scorewall in Richmondshire, begins with the year 588, and ends with the death of Richard Cœur de Lion: though far from being a masterly performance, it contains the transactions of the Anglo-Saxon history, collected with great fidelity; and therefore it is considered as an authentic work: there is indeed a mixture of romance and improbability in his book, which was rather the fault of the age than of the writer; and he is justly blamed for his negligence in chronology. Roger Hoveden.

John Wallingford, supposed to have been abbot of St. Alban's, wrote a short chronicle of the Saxon and Danish progress in England, which is in the Cottonian library, though miserably mutilated and defaced. John Brompton.

Gervase, monk of Canterbury, who lived

Matthew
Paris.

lived in the reign of king John, is said to have been profoundly learned in the British and Saxon antiquities: he compiled a large history of the Britons, Saxons, and Normans, from their origin to the reign of John, with an account of the division of Old Britain, its episcopal seats and monasteries; the bulk of this work is lost, though the remains containing the reigns of Stephen, Henry, and Richard, are very valuable. Matthew Paris lived in the reign of Henry III. and was a monk of St. Alban's: his history begins with the Conqueror, and is carried on to the author's death, which happened in the year 1299; from thence it is continued to the end of Henry's reign, by William Rishanger, a monk of the same society: his reputation for virtue was so high, that pope Innocent employed him to reform the degenerated monks of Holme in Norway; at his return he became so eminent for his parts and integrity, that he was honoured with the friendship of the greatest men in England, and received particular marks of favour and distinction from king Henry, who retained him about his person, to record the transaction as they occurred; informed him of negotiations that were upon the carpet; entertained him at his court; and, at his intercession, pardoned the university of Oxford, which had fallen under his displeasure. He did not abuse this favour by servile adulation; on the contrary, he never failed to take the honest freedom to speak his sentiments, and find fault with what he found amiss, either on the administration or the king's own private conduct. His work is the best account extant not only of English history, but also of Europe, during the period of which he wrote, and appealed to as such by all foreign writers. This performance in manuscript is now in the king's library at St. James's, and the very same copy which he himself presented to his

his abbey at St. Alban's. But besides this he wrote the lives of three and twenty abbots belonging to the same convent; though some authors make objections to the authenticity of that work. In the same reign lived Nicholas Trivet, prior of a monastery possessed by Dominicans at London, and son of Sir Thomas Trivet, one of the itinerant justices. He composed a general history of Europe, from the accession of king Stephen to the year 1307. He was very accurate in his chronology; and though too concise, is a valuable historian.

Nicholas
Trivet.

Bale.
Moreri.
Leland.
Gale.
Nicholson.

E D W A R D I.

Surnamed LONG-SHANKS.

A. C. 1271.
Progress of
Edward I.
in Palestine.

WE have already observed that Edward I. embarked with his princess at Trapani, and arrived at Acon in Palestine just as the Saracens intended to besiege that city. Though his troops did not exceed a thousand men, his appearance not only animated the christians, who had been greatly dispirited; but also disconcerted the infidels, who were alarmed at the arrival of a prince already renowned in arms, whose veins were enriched with the same blood which warmed the heart of that Richard so terrible to their fathers. They had already made a lodgment in the suburbs of Acon, which they now abandoned; and Edward began to make preparations to attack them in his turn. He was immediately joined by seven thousand christians, ambitious of serving under his banner; and his own troops being refreshed from the fatigue of the voyage, he marched to Nazareth, at the distance of twenty leagues from Acon, in order to besiege that city. He soon made himself master of the place; but in his return fell into an ambuscade of the Saracens, whom however he repulsed. Then he directed his march towards a body of the infidels encamped at Cakcow, whom he charged so suddenly that they were immediately routed, leaving a thousand men dead upon the spot, together with a very valuable booty, with which Edward next day returned to Acon. He obtained another victory at St. George's; but as these were only advantages gained over inconsiderable detachments of the Saracens, and he found himself too weak to attempt



EDWARD I.



attempt any conquest of importance, he solicited the government of Cyprus for a reinforcement; and they forthwith granted to the nephew of Richard their old master, what they had denied to the king of Jerusalem. Edward's reputation was already so diffused through the East, that Albaga, king of the Tartars, who had conquered great part of Asia, and taken the last caliph in Baldac, wrote letters to the English prince, expressing his esteem and admiration of his character, and offering to send an army to his assistance.

A. C. 1271.

Hemingford,

The Saracens being informed of these particulars, and dreading the consequences of Edward's commanding a numerous body of forces, had recourse to treachery in order to deprive him of life, in the most base and cowardly manner. Though the Old Man of the Mountain had been taken in his capital by the Tartars, and put to the sword, with all his followers that were found in the place, there still remained an assassin who had been educated under him, and undertook to murder the prince of England. This ruffian was furnished with letters from the governor of Joppa, proposing a negotiation; and by virtue of these obtained admittance to Edward, who conversed with him freely at different times in the French language, which the infidel understood. Having thus secured free egress and regress, he entered the prince's apartment on Friday in Whitsun-week; and the weather being extremely hot, found him sitting on his bed in a loose garment. There was no other person in the room but the assassin, who thinking this a proper opportunity to perpetrate his design, snatched a dagger from his bosom, and attempted to plunge it into the prince's belly. Edward endeavouring to parry the stroke, received a deep wound in his arm; and perceiving the infidel about to repeat his blow, struck him with his foot on the breast so forcibly that

He is wounded by an assassin; returns to Sicily.

A. C. 1271. that he fell upon the ground; then wresting the weapon from his hand, buried it instantly in his heart. The domestics hearing a noise, broke into the room; and one of them, transported with rage and apprehension, snatched up a joint-stool, with which he dashed out the brains of the dead assassin. The wound which Edward had received was the more dangerous, as having been inflicted with a poisoned dagger; and the flesh beginning to exhibit signs of a gangrene, he made his will and resigned himself to his fate; but by the extraordinary skill of an English surgeon, the mortified parts were scarified, and the cure completed in little more than a fortnight.

A. C. 1272. The soldan of Babylon sent ambassadors to congratulate him upon his recovery, and in the most solemn manner to disclaim any knowledge of the attempt. At the same time he proposed terms of accommodation, such as Edward could not prudently reject, considering the small number of his followers, the vast power of the enemy, and the letters of his father, pressing his immediate return. He therefore received the sultan's ambassadors in an honourable manner, declared that he retained no suspicion of their master touching the attempt which had been made upon his life, and concluded a truce with him for ten years, ten weeks, and the like number of days, that the western christians might have leisure enough to return to their respective countries. This agreement being ratified, Edward set sail at Acra in August, and in October arrived at Trapani in Sicily, where he had formerly embarked. While he stayed at the court of his Sicilian majesty, he received the tidings of his father's decease, as well as of the death of his own son John, in the sixth year of his age. He bore the last with resignation, but appeared extremely afflicted at his father's death; and when Charles of Anjou expressed his surprize that he

he should lament the loss of his father so much more than he seemed to mourn the decease of his own child, he replied, that the loss of a child might be made up, but that of a parent was irreparable.

Though Henry's death happened at a seeming unfavourable conjuncture, when the heir of the crown was absent, and Richard king of the Romans with his son were now no more, Walter Giffard archbishop of York, and the lords of the council, managed affairs with such discretion that no bad consequence ensued. On the morning after the king's death, Edward was proclaimed at Westminster, and afterwards in Guild-hall; and all persons enjoined to keep the peace towards the Jews as well as Christians. Notwithstanding these precautions, the city of London was filled with tumult and confusion, occasioned by a dispute between the common-council and the populace, about the election of a mayor. The alderman voted for Philip de Tailleur, and the common people declared they would obey no magistrate but Walter Hervey, a turbulent man, who sat up for a demagogue or patron of the poorer citizens. This contention began during Henry's last illness; and both sides repaired to Westminster, by way of appealing to his majesty, whom they disturbed with their clamour in his last moments. The riot was repeated next day; and the common people had actually resolved to plunder and destroy the richer citizens, when, upon Henry's death, Walter de Merton, and other members of the king's council, went into the city and compromised the difference, by proposing a new election at St. Paul's Cross, where Hervey was chosen mayor, after he had promised upon oath that he would not oppress or molest any person who had opposed his elevation. This dispute being accommodated, the council gave directions touching Henry's funeral; and before his grave was filled

Tumult at London. Llewellyn declines taking the oath of allegiance to Edward.

A. C. 1272. up, ordered the great seal to be broken, while another, purposely made with an alteration in the name, was delivered to Walter de Merton as chancellor. All the noblemen present at the obsequies took the oath of allegiance to Edward; the king's peace was republished, and orders were sent to proclaim them in their respective counties. In about a fortnight after the funeral, the great council of the kingdom was assembled in the new temple, and the oath administered to all the prelates, noblemen, and freeholders, in England. Those of Ireland swore fealty to Edward before Maurice Fitz Maurice, the justiciary of that kingdom; but Llewellyn ap Griffith prince of North Wales, being summoned to appear and take the oath at the ford of Montgomery, declined meeting the commissioners. The chief actor in all these steps that were taken to establish the tranquility of the kingdom, was Walter Merton the chancellor, who, though an ecclesiastic, never scrupled to oppose the encroachments of the clergy, when they interfered with the king's prerogative: he had been very active in preventing the mischievous consequences of the disturbance in the city of London, and exerted himself against the provision of the late pope, who had nominated Robert de Kilwarby to the archbishopric of Canterbury, without a canonical election or consent of the crown; nor would he suffer the bishop of Chichester to enter the kingdom, after having been absolved by his holiness, because he was accompanied by Amaury de Montfort. He likewise employed his vigilance and conduct in suppressing robbers who infested the country, and in replenishing the king's exchequer by laying a talliage on the cities, boroughs, and towns of the crown demesnes.

Rymer.

A. C. 1273. Mean while Edward visited Rome, in consequence of an invitation from Gregory X. who attended him to Palestine, from whence he had been recalled

recalled to fill St. Peter's chair: and this pontiff A. C. 1273. now indulged him with the grant of two or three tenths of all ecclesiastical revenues throughout England, to reimburse him for the expences of his expedition. In passing through Italy, he was every where received with honours and acclamation. On the frontiers of Savoy he was met by several English prelates and noblemen; and his queen parting from him at Lyon, repaired directly to Gascony, where she was in a little time delivered of a son named Alphonso. His renown excited the envy and emulation of the count de Chalons, who, when he arrived at that city, proposed a tournament, and even defied Edward to a trial of chivalry. The English monarch accepted the challenge, and with his knights, holding the field against all that would enter the lists, obtained the honour of the day; when the count, enraged at his success, converted those feats of dexterity into a real engagement. Some blood was spilt; but the English still maintained their superiority. From Chalons Edward proceeded to Paris, where he was magnificently entertained by Philip king of France, to whom he did homage for Guienne and the other territories which he ought to have possessed in that kingdom. The king is victor in a tournament at Chalons; his dispute with Gaston viscount of Bearne. Edward, after a short stay at the French court, set out for Gascony; and Gaston viscount de Bearne, who had rebelled in his absence, fled at his approach to the mountains, to which he was pursued and taken in one of his fortresses. W. Westm. An. Trivet. As Edward treated him with great lenity, and allowed him to ride about on his word and honour, Gaston took the first opportunity to make his escape; and being summoned to appear at the court of Gascony held at St. Sever, without obeying the citation, he was condemned in the forfeiture of his towns, castles, and effects, for the use of his majesty. The king entered his country with a body of forces to execute

A. C. 1273. this sentence; and Gaston, seeing himself on the brink of destruction, appealed to Philip as lord-paramount of the province. Edward immediately retired; and by a proclamation forbade any person to injure the viscount or his vassals, until the cause should be determined. The appeal was accordingly heard in the court of France, which decreed, that Gaston should repair to England, and, throwing himself at Edward's feet, submit to his majesty's mercy. The king would not act as judge in his own cause, which he referred to the king of France; but Gaston, dissatisfied with the sentence, demanded of the court, that he might be allowed to decide the dispute in single combat with Edward: His insolent demand was rejected; and he continued in a state of outlawry for six years, at the expiration of which he obtained his pardon, and was re-established in the possession of his territories.

Rymer.

He concludes
a treaty of
peace with
Margaret
countess of
Flanders.

During Edward's residence in Gascony, he engaged in two alliances; one with Peter the eldest infant of Arragon, and the other with Henry I. king of Navarre: they were cemented by contracts of marriage between the children of those princes and the king of England, which however did not take effect. Peter's eldest son, contracted to Eleanor daughter of Edward, did not live to the age of puberty; and the king of Navarre dying in the course of the succeeding year, the mother of the young princess destined for the prince of England, carried her to Paris, where she was afterwards married to Philip the Fair, and added Navarre to the kingdom of France. The pope having summoned a council to meet at Lyon, in order to procure assistance for the christians of the Holy Land, Edward sent agents to the assembly, and, when it broke up, set out for England. At Montreuil he was visited by Guy de Dampierre count of Flanders, who went thither to meet him, that they might

A. C. 1274.

might accommodate a difference which, for some A. C. 1274. years, had interrupted the commerce between the English and Flemings. It had been customary for the kings of England to grant pensions to the counts of Flanders, for certain services which those counts undertook to perform: and Margaret the present countess laid claim to the like annuity. Her demand being rejected at the court of England, she seized the effects of the merchants belonging to England and Gascony, which happened to be in her dominions; and reprisals were made upon her subjects in England. Severe penalties were enacted against the exportation of wool to Flanders; so that Margaret, finding herself distressed by this prohibition, was fain to sue for an accommodation, and ordered her son to meet Edward at Montreuil for that purpose. The king sent for some of the principal citizens of London to assist at the conferences; and a treaty of peace was concluded, on condition that Margaret should relinquish all claim to the annuity, make good the damage sustained by the seizure of the effects belonging to the English merchants; and that some of her chief nobility should be bound for the performance of this engagement.

This affair being settled, and a free trade opened with Flanders, Edward took shipping for England, and arrived at Dover in the beginning of August. On the nineteenth day of the same month he was crowned at Westminster, by Robert de Kilwarby archbishop of Canterbury, in the midst of a vast concourse of prelates, nobility, and people, which last were feasted a whole fortnight at the king's expence. Edmund earl of Lancaster, the brother of Edward, officiated as high-steward of England on this occasion, and next day renounced all hereditary title to that office. Alexander III. king of Scotland was present at this solemnity, and did

He is crowned at Westminster.

A. C. 1274. did homage for the lands he possessed, as depending on the crown of England. His queen Margaret likewise graced her brother's inauguration, as well as his other sister Beatrix, married to John duke of Brittany: but both these ladies died in a few months after this ceremony; and he sustained the additional affliction of losing his own son Henry. At the coronation, which was extremely magnificent, five hundred horse were turned loose, as the property of those who should catch them. The king was enabled to defray such extraordinary expence, by the tax upon ecclesiastical revenues granted to him by pope Gregory; but as his exchequer was almost exhausted, his first care, after he had received the crown, was to examine the state of his own revenues. For this purpose, he appointed commissioners of inquest, to make a progress through all the counties of the kingdom, and not only take an exact information of every circumstance relating to the crown fiefs, but also examine and punish the malversation of magistrates and sheriffs, who had lately abused their authority and oppressed their fellow subjects.

A. C. 1275. That he might take more effectual steps for protecting his people from such extortion, he summoned a general parliament, in which several excellent laws were enacted for the ease and advantage of the subjects, who were so well pleased with those regulations, that they granted a fifteenth of all their moveables, to pay the debts which the king had contracted in his expedition to the Holy Land. The merchants, out of gratitude for the great care he had taken of their interest in the treaty with Flanders, as well as in freeing them from divers heavy duties and tolls, desired that a tax of half a mark should be laid on every sack of wool, and twice as much upon three hundred skins, and on a last of leather, to be levied for the benefit of the king

Restrictions laid upon the Jews, and other wholesome regulations.

king and his heirs for ever. It was known by the name of the New Custom, in contradistinction to that which had been formerly paid; and is said to have been granted by the prelates and nobility, as well as by the merchants of the kingdom. Towards the latter end of the late reign, the Jews had, by bribing the king's council, been admitted to all the privileges of christian natives: they purchased houses, lands, and manors; sat on juries; enjoyed feisin and wardships of christian heirs; together with the right of presentation to livings. This indulgence raised a clamour among the clergy, and gave great offence to all sorts of people. The king himself was shocked at the scandalous connivance of his father in this particular; and at his desire a law was made in this parliament, rendering Jews incapable of holding fee or freehold; obliging them to wear a mark on their outward garments, to distinguish them from christians; and prohibiting them, on severe penalties, from lending money at usury. As discontent still prevailed among the nobility and freeholders who had been concerned in the late troubles, and subjected to the statute called the *Dictum de Kenilworth*, Edward enquired into the nature of their complaints; and finding that a great number of disputes had arisen from the uncertainty of the time within which they could claim the benefit of that law, he exempted all persons from the imputation of rebellion who had not appeared in arms from the month of April, when his father marched towards Northampton, till the sixteenth day of September in the following year, when the peace was proclaimed in the parliament of Winchester.

While Edward was employed in making these laudable regulations for the good of his subjects, including the clergy as well as the laity; he was summoned, as a peer of France, to the trial of a

N^o. 23.

I

great

Edward is summoned by Philip to the trial of the duke of Burgundy and the count of Nevers.

Chr. Dunst.

A. C. 1276.

A. C. 1276. great cause depending between Robert duke of Burgundy and the count of Nevers, concerning the right of succession to that duchy; but he sent agents to excuse his non-attendance, on account of the situation of his own affairs in England; and Philip admitted his apology. The pope likewise demanded eight thousand marks, as the arrears of the annual tribute; which were paid accordingly, though Edward was ashamed of this vile acknowledgement, and afterwards proposed to pope Nicholas III. that instead of being issued from the exchequer, it might be charged upon some abbeyes and priories, which he would endow for that purpose; but the pope perceiving his drift, would not hearken to the proposal, by which he might invalidate a claim to more important demands, when a proper opportunity should occur.

Rymer.

His expedition against Llewellyn prince of North Wales, who is obliged to submit at discretion.

When the parliament broke up, Edward resolved to march against Llewellyn prince of North Wales, who had refused to do homage for his dominions, and seemed bent upon renouncing his dependence upon the crown of England. At the death of Henry, he had been summoned to come and take the oath to the absent king; but he paid no manner of regard to this intimation. When Edward arrived, he was again required to do homage and assist at the coronation; but, instead of obeying the order, he demanded satisfaction for some outrages which he said the English had committed upon the frontiers, contrary to the articles of the last treaty. That he might have no pretext for delaying his submission, the king appointed commissioners to examine and adjust all matters in dispute, and summoned him again to appear and do homage. He still refused to comply; and, understanding that the archbishop of Canterbury intended to excommunicate his person, and lay his dominions under an interdict, he had recourse to the protection of the pope, who forbade the metropolitan to pronounce

nounce those censures against him, as he offered to do homage in his own country; for he pretended that he was not obliged to perform that act of submission, except to the king in person on the frontiers of his dominions. Edward was willing to receive it even on these terms, and actually set out for Shrewsbury to meet Llewellyn upon the border; but he being taken ill upon the road, the meeting was deferred till another opportunity. That prince was afterwards summoned to appear before the parliament; but he again refused to come, alledging that as the king had always acted as his sworn enemy, he could not trust himself at the English court, but would do homage to the crown in his own dominions, if the king would send thither commissioners to receive it, or in any other neutral country: he even offered to appear at Westminster, if Edward would send his eldest son, together with the earl of Gloucester and the chancellor into Wales, as hostages for the security of his person. The king, incensed at this insolent message, resolved to reduce him to obedience by more effectual measures; and in the mean time, proceeded with the business of the nation: but that was no sooner finished, than he began to prepare for an expedition into Wales. In this interval, Eleanor de Montfort, daughter of the late earl of Leicester, being betrothed to Llewellyn, was, in her passage from the continent to Wales, under the conduct of her brother Amaury, taken near the Scilly isles by a corsair of Bristol, and delivered to the king's officers. This young lady was detained in the queen's court, and her brother was confined in the castle of Sherburn, until he was claimed as the pope's chaplain, and removed to an ecclesiastical prison. Llewellyn sent letters to Edward, demanding his bride, and signifying that he would do homage at Montgomery, provided he might have a safe-conduct, subscribed by the first

Act. Pub;

A. C. 1276. nobleman of the kingdom, and an assurance that the king would confirm the articles of the last peace, and amend those that were defective. His insolence excited the indignation of the parliament, which granted a subsidy for enabling the king to reduce him by force of arms. He was, by a sentence of the king's court, convicted of contumacy and rebellion. The military tenants of the crown were summoned to meet the king at Worcester, by Midsummer of the ensuing year; the Marches were guarded, the forts supplied with strong garrisons and store of ammunition; and all the subjects of Edward prohibited from holding any correspondence with Llewellyn or his adherents. The archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans renewed their threats of excommunication and interdict, which were actually published against him in the beginning of the next year. Roger de Mortimer was appointed commander of all the forces in Herefordshire, Salop, and the adjacent Marches; while William de Beauchamp earl of Warwick, and Pagen de Chaworth, who commanded in Cheshire, were empowered to pardon such of Llewellyn's adherents as should be willing to submit and do homage to the king of England. This was the case with Rufe ap Meredith, lord of Dynevour, who did homage on condition of holding his lands immediately of the crown: his example was followed by all the noblemen of South Wales; and the castle of Stratywy was delivered to Chaworth, who erected another at Aberystwyth for the defence of the country. The king resolved to make an entire conquest of Wales; and that the administration of justice might not suffer while he should be engaged in this expedition, he removed the court of exchequer and the justices of the bench to Shrewsbury. About Midsummer he invaded Wales, on the side of Cheshire, with a numerous army; and as Llewellyn chiefly

chiefly depended upon his inaccessible woods and fastnesses, the king ordered a large road to be opened through a long tract of woods, from the Marches as far as Caernarvonshire, that his troops might penetrate with ease into the heart of the country. While the bulk of his army was employed in this work, he erected the castles of Flint and Ruthland as he advanced; and then marched forwards to the mountains of Snowdon, to which the enemy had retired. Perhaps in that retreat the Welsh prince might have still set him at defiance, could he have screened himself from the attacks of famine; but Edward had not only cut off the communication by land, between him and any country that could furnish him with provisions, but he was likewise attended by a fleet of the Cinque-Ports, which scoured the sea and reduced the island of Anglesey, from whence Llewellyn had been hitherto supplied. Finding himself thus reduced to the utmost distress, he was obliged to sue for peace, and even to comply with such terms as Edward thought proper to impose. The treaty was concluded at Aberconway, on condition that Llewellyn should pay fifty thousand pounds sterling, by way of satisfaction for damages; that he should relinquish for ever all the country from Cheshire to the river Conway, and retain the isle of Anglesey as a grant from Edward, for which he should pay a thousand marks annually; that all the Welsh nobility should swear allegiance to the king of England, except four barons of Snowdon, who continued to hold of Llewellyn; that he should release all the barons he had imprisoned, and do justice to his own brothers, who had fled from his oppression to the English court; that Llewellyn, with his council, and twenty men out of every cantred in his dominions, should annually swear to the performance of these articles; that ten of the principal nobility should be delivered as hostages; and

A. C. 1278. Llewellyn in person do homage to Edward, first at Ruthlard and afterwards at London. This pacification being ratified, the king remitted the payment of the fifty thousand pounds, and Llewellyn accompanied him to Westminster, where he took the oath on Christmas day, in presence of the prelates and nobility of England. He failed, however, in coming to the next parliament which was held at Glastenbury, where the king ordered Arthur's tomb to be opened, in order to view the skeleton of that renowned monarch; and his absence giving rise to some doubts of his intention, Edward advanced with a body of forces into the Marches. He summoned Llewellyn to Worcester, where he was visited by that prince, who vindicated himself so much to the king's satisfaction, that he restored the hostages, together with Eleanor de Montfort; and the nuptials of that young lady with the Welsh prince were solemnized in a very magnificent manner.

Ch. T. Wyk.
Rymer.

A great
number of
Jews exe-
cuted for
clipping.

Immediately after this expedition, Edward settled the articles of a contract of marriage between his daughter Joan of Acra, and Hartman eldest son of Rodolphus of Hapsburg king of the Romans: but that young prince died before he was of age to consummate the nuptials. He likewise concluded a treaty of the same kind, between his third daughter Margaret, and John eldest son of the duke of Lorraine and Brabant; a match which was afterwards completed when the princess attained the age of fifteen. About this period too, Alexander III. of Scotland renewed his homage to Edward, before the parliament at Westminster, when the Scot professed himself the king's liege vassal, and Robert de Brus earl of Carrick took the oath of fealty in his name. In this assembly the statute of Gloucester, enacted during the Welsh expedition, was confirmed: it was a compendium of some excellent laws, securing the rights and liberties of the

subjects, and providing for the better administration of justice. The king's finances being exhausted, he issued orders to the sheriffs for summoning all persons that held of him by knights service in capite, and possessed a fee of twenty pounds a year, to come and receive the honour of knighthood. As the coin of the kingdom was almost ruined by the practice of clipping, a great number of the Jews, suspected of this crime, was apprehended in different parts of England; and being convicted upon trial, condemned to death. Two hundred and eighty were executed in London, besides those that suffered in other towns of England: their houses and effects were forfeited for the use of the king, who assigned one half of the produce for the maintenance of such as should be converted to Christianity. Great sums of clipped money were found in their houses; and the fines paid by those who escaped death, and the goldsmiths with whom they were concerned, must have amounted to a considerable treasure.

Chr. Dunst.
M. Westm.

In the midst of these transactions, the county of Ponthieu devolved to the queen, on the death of her mother Jane of Castile; and Edward crossing the sea, concluded a treaty at Amiens with the king of France, for confirming that which had been made between their fathers, when Henry renounced all claim to Anjou and Normandy. Edward subscribed to the same renunciation; and, upon giving security for the payment of six thousand livres to the French king, was put in possession of Ponthieu, together with the Agenois, and some lands in the Limosin, Perigort, and Quercy, to which he ought to have succeeded at the death of Alphonso count of Poitiers. Having settled the terms of this agreement, and received the homage of his new vassals, he returned to England, to finish his plan of reformation. Great complaints had been made of the excessive wealth of the clergy and convents,

A. C. 1279.
Edward goes
to France
and takes
possession of
Ponthieu.

A. C. 1279. which daily increased, to the prejudice of the laity, and indeed of the nation in general. Though care had been taken to insert, in the famous charter of king John, a clause, expressly forbidding the subjects to alienate their lands in favour of the church, this article had been entirely neglected; and now the abuse was become so dangerous, that the king plainly saw the church must in time engross all the lands of the kingdom, unless some remedy could be found for this growing evil. Edward assembled a parliament, to whom he explained his sentiments on this subject, observing, that as the church neither died nor alienated, all their lands would be swallowed up in that gulph, from which they could never emerge: he therefore desired they would deliberate maturely, and find out some remedy for a grievance of such importance. His proposal was joyfully received by the assembly; and the famous statute of Mortmain enacted, forbidding all persons whatever to dispose of their effects, in favour of religious societies, without the express permission of the king or lord of the fief.

The statute of Mortmain enacted.

Ryley.

The king opposes the encroachments of the clergy.

Besides this constitution, it was decreed that no person should come to parliament in armour: and John Peckham, nominated by the pope to the see of Canterbury on the promotion of Robert Kilwarby lately created a cardinal, was called to account for some canons he had instituted at a synod in Reading, encroaching upon the king's prerogative. He was summoned before the king's council, and obliged not only to revoke the particular articles laid to his charge, but also to renounce all other canons that might be prejudicial to the royal prerogative, or interfere with the rights and privileges of the kingdom. This humiliation of the prelate was extremely agreeable to the archbishop of York, who had been long at variance with him, about the ceremony of carrying the cross erect in one another's province;

province; and Edward converted their animosity to his own advantage. He now proposed that they should procure in his favour a fifteenth, for three years, of the revenues of their clergy. York was so well pleased with the mortification to which Edward had subjected his rival, that he agreed to the proposal immediately; and the other was obliged to comply, lest York should entirely supplant him in the king's favour. The peace of the kingdom being now perfectly re-established, Edward employed his good offices in compromising the differences that disturbed the tranquillity of his neighbours. He mediated an accommodation between the king's of France and Castile: Rodolph king of the Romans, and Phillip count of Savoy compromised their quarrel in consequence of his interposition; and he appeased a dispute which his aunt Margaret, queen-mother of France, had with her own son Charles, king of Sicily, concerning her rights to Provence.

A. C. 1279.

Spelman.

A. C. 1280.

The statute
of Quo
Warranto.

At home he made a progress through the different counties, to hear the complaints, and redress the grievances of his subjects; but, in the course of these regulations, he took one step which might have produced infinite mischief to the kingdom. During the late troubles, several people had usurped lands, to which they had no lawful title, and the crown had suffered by these appropriations: in order to reform this abuse, the parliament assembled in the course of this year, enacted a statute, called Quo Warranto, obliging all landholders to produce their charters and titles before such judges as should be appointed to examine their validity. This was a very just and necessary regulation, which, however, the king abused for the gratification of his avarice. He knew that among the tenants of the crown, there was a good number of landholders who had lost their titles, and he resolv-

ed

A. C. 1280. ed to take advantage of their misfortune on pre-
 tence of executing this statute of Quo Warranto.
 He published a proclamation, commanding all those
 who held lands of the crown, to produce their titles
 before the judges of the kingdom; an order which
 was looked upon as the source of infinite mischief
 and oppression. Accordingly those who were first
 questioned, and could not produce original titles,
 although they pleaded long possession, found them-
 selves obliged to pay large sums to the king for
 the preservation of their estates. But the progress
 of this evil was stopped by the resolution of the
 earl of Warenne, who being required by the judges
 to produce his charter, unsheathed an old rusty
 sword, as the instrument by which his ancestors
 had acquired their lands, and with which he re-
 solved to preserve them to the last drop of his blood.
 This bold answer gave Edward to understand,
 that his inquisition would be attended with very dan-
 gerous consequences; and, that the spirit of independ-
 ency which breathed defiance to his father, was not
 yet extinguished in the nation. Moved by these
 considerations, he revoked his proclamation; and the
 joy manifested on this occasion, plainly denoted how
 deeply they had felt the injustice of the inquiry.

Ch. Abingd.

Llewellyn
 and his bro-
 ther David
 revolt.

Mean while prince Llewellyn, impatient of the
 English yoke, which his people began to find very
 severe, resolved to withdraw himself from the do-
 minion of Edward, after he had in vain complained
 of oppression: his subjects were still more eager to
 renounce their dependance upon a nation they de-
 tested; but, thinking it necessary to effect a recon-
 ciliation between their prince and his brother David,
 whom Edward had created earl of Derby, before
 they would commence hostilities, the Welsh noble-
 men interposed their good offices. As David had
 reasons of complaint against the king of England,
 he readily assented to their proposal; and Llewel-
 lyn

lyn exacted no other condition of him, than an oath A. C. 1280. that he would never again enter into the service of Edward, but always act against him as the inveterate enemy of his country. This agreement being A. C. 1281. ratified, David took the field with a body of forces; reduced the castle of Harwarden, in which Sir Roger Clifford, justice of the marches, was found dangerously wounded: then he ravaged the country, and laid siege to the castle of Ruthland. The king, being informed of these hostilities, summoned his nobility and military tenants to meet him at Midsummer, in Worcester; he removed his courts of justice from Westminster to Shrewsbury; and, after assembling a numerous army, marched against Llewellyn and his brother, with full resolution to exterminate the whole family, and reduce that people to such an abject state of subjection, that they should never be able in the sequel to excite a rebellion of any consequence: what augmented his indignation, was the progress of Rufe Maelyon and Griffyth ap Owen, who, with other noblemen of South Wales, had taken several castles, and wasted the lands of the English. At Edward's approach, Llewellyn and his brother abandoned the siege of Ruthland, and retired to the mountains, which were found so difficult of access, that Edward's fury abated; and he allowed the archbishop of Canterbury to treat with the revolters concerning a peace.

That prelate expostulated with Llewellyn upon his having infringed the late treaty; and Llewellyn answered him in writing to this effect: That he was compelled to take arms in behalf of his people, who were oppressed; and that if Edward would now grant him redress of grievances, he would immediately submit, and live in perpetual amity with England. He observed that the king had detained divers lands betwixt the rivers of Dyur and Dulus, They enumerate their grievances. and

A. C. 1281.

and refused to do him justice, unless he would be judged according to the English law, contrary to the stipulations of the last treaty: that the lord Reginald Gray, when appointed justice, had prosecuted the Welsh for trespasses committed in the late reign, notwithstanding the general indemnity to which they were intitled at the last pacification; that Refe ap Maelyon had been unjustly deprived of his lands and cattle; that the justice had introduced many new customs into the four cantreds held by the king, though his majesty had expressly agreed that there should be no innovation of that nature; that the inhabitants of Anglesey were tried by the English laws, condemned, fined, and imprisoned, contrary to the articles of the peace; that prince Llewellyn was compelled to pay sums to the queen and queen-mother, under the name of *Aurum Reginae*, which was a grievous imposition; and that when his nuptials were solemnized at Worcester, the king obliged him to sign and confirm a writing, in which he promised that he would never harbour or maintain any person against the inclination of Edward; an article by which he might be deprived of his most faithful friends and servants: that the justice of Chester had levied a distress upon his goods, in lieu of a certain shipwreck which he had seized during the late war: that the king's officers, instead of doing justice to the natives of Wales, oppressed and imprisoned them, even out of wantonness of despotism and partiality; and that the articles of the treaty, in favour of himself and his subjects, were never observed, but in every instance infringed by those who were intrusted with the administration of justice. At the same time David, after having enumerated his important and faithful services to Edward, complained that the king had deprived him of certain towns belonging to the cantreds, which had been bestowed upon him as
the

the reward of his fidelity; that he was obliged to answer suits, relating to Wales, in the king's court at Chester, contrary to the laws of the country; that the justice of Chester had cut down his woods, oppressed his tenants, exercised an English jurisdiction over the natives of Wales, and neglected his remonstrance, when he demanded satisfaction in behalf of his own people: that he was threatened in the king's court with the loss of his woods, castles, and children; and that in terror of seeing his infants taken away as hostages, and himself condemned to death or perpetual imprisonment, he was fain to have recourse to arms for his own safety. The inhabitants of Rofs and Penlyn at the same time presented a list of grievances, including murders, trespasses, and extortion, to which they had been exposed; and Refe ap Vauchan of Stratywy, with several other Welsh noblemen, remonstrated against divers usurpations upon their lands, privileges, and franchises, which the justices had committed under the king's countenance, contrary to the dictates of equity, and the express laws of Wales, which, by the late peace, they were left at liberty to enjoy.

Powel's
Hist. of
Wales.

The archbishop being convinced of the truth of these articles, interceded with the king in behalf of the Welsh, and begged they might have free access to his majesty, and liberty to depart without molestation. Edward told him, he was very well disposed to do justice unto all his subjects; that they should be freely admitted to his presence with their complaints, and allowed to depart, should they appear worthy of that favour. He insisted upon Llewellyn's absolute submission, and proposed the following terms, which the archbishop communicated to the Welsh prince by the hands of Joannes Wallensis: The king will admit of no treaty concerning the four cantreds and the isle of Anglesey: Llewellyn shall submit at discretion; in which

The king
insists upon
their sub-
mitting to
his mercy.

case

A. C. 1231. case the king will bestow upon him a pension of one thousand pounds, with some county or earldom in England, and make an honourable provision for his daughter: The subjects of Llewellyn shall be treated according to their condition, as the king shall think proper to ordain: If David, brother to Llewellyn, will go to the Holy Land, he shall be maintained by the king, according to his quality; but he shall not return without being recalled. The archbishop exhorted them to embrace these offers, in order to avoid ruin and extirpation; and plainly told them, that, in case of their refusal, he should be obliged to lay them under the sentence of excommunication. To these proposals Llewellyn answered, that he was willing to submit upon equitable terms; but that he could not agree to such articles, without laying aside all regard to his own safety, and the welfare of his people, even though he should give up all considerations of honour and convenience. The Welsh noblemen represented, in behalf of their prince, that they would not agree to a peace, unless Edward would admit of a treaty concerning the four cantreds and the isle of Anglesey, the inhabitants of which durst not submit to the king's mercy, because he had observed no grant, covenant, or oath, which he had ever made with the prince and his subjects; and his officers had always tyrannized over the natives of Wales, with the utmost cruelty. David gave the archbishop to understand, that when he should be disposed for such a pilgrimage, he would visit the Holy Land of his own free will, and not upon compulsion; and that as he had taken up arms in defence of his life and liberty, he trusted that God would fight upon their side against the English, who had wantonly destroyed their churches, profaned their sacraments, slain their priests at the altar, massacred their countrymen without distinction of age or sex, and even murdered helpless women

women in the act of suckling their infants. The reader, who is not dazzled by the great talents and prosperity of Edward, will plainly perceive from this detail, that he had injured and oppressed this unfortunate people, without the least provocation or shadow of justice, and connived at the outrages of his officers, that the Welsh might be driven to despair and rebellion, which would furnish him with a pretext for reducing them to slavery and subjection.

Llewellyn's answer was no sooner brought to the archbishop, than that prelate excommunicated the Welsh prince and all his adherents; and in the beginning of the year, the king began to prosecute the war with vigour. It does not appear, however, that his endeavours were attended with his usual success. In the course of this campaign he was worsted in several skirmishes, with the loss of many persons of distinction; and, in the autumn, having returned to the castle of Ruthland, he issued writs for convoking two extraordinary councils, and the same number of synods, in the south and north of England, in order to deliberate upon more effectual means for carrying on the enterprize which he had undertaken. Mean while he marched with a great army towards the isle of Anglesey, and passed the river Conway on a bridge of boats: then his forces were transported, by the fleet of the Cinque-Ports, to the island, which immediately submitted to his dominion. From hence he caused another bridge of boats to be laid across the river Menay to the continent at Bangor; and, before this was completed, three hundred men at arms, under the command of lord William Latimer and Lucas de Thony, passed over to signalize their courage against the enemy. As soon as the tide flowed in beyond the end of the bridge, the Welsh poured down from the mountains with hideous outcries, and attacked them

A. C. 1281.

A. C. 1282.

A detachment of the English defeated at the river Menay.

A. C. 1282. them in such a manner, that they were immediately routed, and either killed or drowned in the river. Fifteen knights, two and thirty esquires, and about a thousand common soldiers, perished upon this occasion; indeed not one of the whole detachment escaped but lord William Latimer, whose horse swam with him across the channel. The English were so disheartened at this defeat, that they neither finished the bridge, nor proceeded with any other operation in that quarter. At the same time the earl of Gloucester obtained a victory over the inhabitants of South Wales, though not without considerable loss: and, after the earl's retreat, the prince of Wales ravaged the country of Cardigan, together with the lands belonging to Rесе ap Meredith, who served the king against his own countrymen.

Llewellyn
routed and
slain.

Llewellyn and his adherents were so much elevated with the advantage they had gained at the bridge, that they began to think heaven had declared in their favour; and that this prince was the person pointed out by one of the prophecies of Merlin, as the restorer of Brute's empire in Britain: a soothsayer had also prognosticated that he should ride through the streets of London with a crown upon his head. These ridiculous circumstances had great weight with a superstitious people, who persuaded Llewellyn to leave his brother David for the defence of Snowdun, and hazard a decisive battle against the English. With this view he marched into Radnorshire, and, passing the river Wye, encountered a body of forces, commanded by Edmund Mortimer and John Gifford: Llewellyn himself, attended by one esquire, had withdrawn from his army, to confer with some lords of that country, who had promised to meet him in a private valley; and in his absence the troops, which he had posted at the bridge of Orewyn, were attacked

tacked and defeated by the English. The prince, in returning to rally his men, was killed by Adam de Francton, who, without knowing Llewellyn, ran a spear through his heart; but afterwards recognizing his countenance, severed the head from the body, and carried it to the king, who was then quartered at the abbey of Conway. Edward sent it immediately to London, where it was received with uncommon demonstrations of joy: the citizens carried it through Cheapside, upon the point of a lance, decorated with a silver circlet or crown, in order to fulfil the prediction of the soothsayer; then it was placed in the pillory, that the inhabitants might glut their eyes with such an agreeable spectacle; and afterwards being crowned with a chaplet of ivy, it was exposed on the highest part of the Tower of London. Such a barbarous triumph over the body of a brave prince, who died in the defence of his liberty and independence, reflects disgrace upon the memory of the victor; and the rejoicings that were made at his death transmit his encomium to posterity.

A. C. 1282.

Ch Ab'ing,
Brady,
Tyrrel.

The Welsh were so dispirited at the death of their beloved prince, that they made very little resistance against the forces of Edward, who, having finished the bridge over the river Menay, penetrated into Snowdon, where the castle of that name, and several other fortresses, were immediately reduced. David, who assumed the title of prince upon his brother's death, endeavoured to renew the war, and recover the principality; but the same superstition that formerly animated his followers, now contributed to their despondence: they either deserted his cause, or served with fear and reluctance; so that they were easily defeated; and David being abandoned, was obliged to conceal himself from the pursuit of his enemy. At length one of his own countrymen, employed as a spy by the king, dis-

His brother
David taken
and executed.

A. C. 1283;

A. C. 1283. covered the place of his retreat, where he was taken and brought to Edward at Ruthland-castle. He earnestly begged he might be admitted into the king's presence; but this favour was denied. His majesty ordered him to be conveyed to Chester-castle; and, in the mean time, issued writs to convene the lords and commons at Shrewsbury, where the prisoner was tried and condemned as a traitor, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; a sentence which was literally executed, with circumstances of cruelty never practised before in any civilized country. His bowels were burned, his quarters were exposed in the chief cities of England, and his head was placed upon the Tower, by that of his brother Llewellyn. Immediately after David was taken, Refe ap Vaughan, a nobleman of South Wales, and all his adherents, surrendered to the earl of Hereford, and were committed prisoners to the Tower of London. Edward built two strong castles at Aberconway and Caernarvon; the whole principality of Wales submitted to his sway, and received the English laws; and then making a progress through the country, he divided the greatest part of the conquered lands among his barons.

The parliament, at Acton-Burnel in Shropshire, granted a considerable aid to defray the expence of this war; and here also was enacted the statute known by the name of that place, enabling merchants to recover their debts by recognizances, in the three great cities of London, York, and Bristol: but the ordinances for the incorporation of Wales with England were made at Ruthland, which was the place of the king's residence during this whole expedition. He divided North Wales into counties, and appointed sheriffs and other officers, such as administered justice in England; but he decreed, that the Welsh should not be sued for debts and trespasses, except in their own country. He erected
Ruthland,

Ch. Abing.
M. West.
An. Burton.
Wales incorporated with
England.

Ruthland, Caernarvon, Aberystwyth, and other towns, into corporations, and endowed them with privileges to encourage trade, and allure the Welsh from their mountains into a more sociable way of life, that they might reap the sweets of industry, which would soon divert their attention from schemes of war and rebellion. He published a proclamation, offering peace and security to all those who would put themselves into his protection. He left them in possession of the same lands and liberties they had enjoyed under their own princes; but with respect to the bards, who kept up the spirit of their countrymen by rehearsing the glorious deeds of their ancestors, he ordered them to be put to death without mercy, as the sowers of sedition: another instance to prove how little Edward was restricted by the ties of justice and humanity, when they chanced to interfere with his ambition. Notwithstanding all these precautions of indulgence and severity, he could neither reconcile the Welsh to his government, nor tame them into quiet subjection: they could not bear the thoughts of obeying a foreign prince, and seeing their antient laws and customs abolished in favour of new regulations, which they did not understand, imposed upon them by a people whom they detested as their inveterate enemies. Edward, in order to flatter their vanity, and amuse their superstition, is said to have left his queen to be delivered in the castle of Caernarvon; and afterwards to have presented young Edward, the fruit of that delivery, to the Welsh lords, as a native of their country, who could not speak a word of the English language. How childish soever such an expedient may seem to the unprejudiced reader, it might have succeeded very effectually, in those days of ignorance, among a people who were swayed by such trifling considerations, even in affairs of the greatest importance. They

A. C. 1284. considered this young prince as a native of Snow-dun, who would govern them as a distinct people from the English, as the king's eldest son Alphonso was still alive; but they were soon deprived of this hope by the death of that prince, in consequence of which Edward became heir apparent to the crown of England. The king, however, with a view to communicate a proper idea of his magnificence to his new subjects, held a superb tournament at Neuyn in Caernarvonshire, to which there was a vast resort of knights from different countries, among whom he distributed marks of royal munificence.

Dugdale.
Chr. Dunst.

The king of
France en-
deavours to
engage Ed-
ward in his
design upon
Arragon.

A. C. 1285.

Having taken proper measures for preserving the tranquillity of Wales, he repaired to Bristol, and restored to its citizens the charter which they had forfeited by invading the rights of the constable of the castle. About this time he was strongly solicited by the king of France to engage with him in a war against Peter king of Arragon, who was excommunicated by the pope, and, as far as the ecclesiastical censure would extend, deprived of his dominions, which his holiness bestowed upon Charles count of Valois, younger son of Philip the Hardy. This prince accepted of the pope's present in the name of his son, and began to make great preparations for invading Arragon. He not only invited Edward to join him in this expedition, but also summoned him as duke of Guienne. The king of England did not approve of the pope's assuming a power to dethrone princes; besides, he lived on terms of friendship with Peter, and had contracted an alliance with him touching a match between their children. He foresaw that his possession of Guienne would have become very precarious, should Arragon have fallen into the hands of the French king; he therefore refused to embark in the expedition. Nevertheless Philip ear-

nestly desired a conference; and Edward had proceeded as far as Canterbury, in his way to France, when he was overtaken by a messenger with the news of his mother's illness: he forthwith returned to visit her at Ambresbury, and sent an apology to Philip, who afterwards renewed his solicitations; but he could not prevail upon Edward to undertake the voyage. The king having passed the Lent in devotion at St. Edmundsbury, returned to London, which he entered in triumph: but the citizens had no great reason to rejoice at his arrival; for he deprived them of their charter and mayor, and appointed a guardian, by whom they were ruled for ten years successively. The reason assigned for this deprivation, was the mayor's conniving at the fraud of a certain baker; though this is such a frivolous pretence, that we must look for another cause, which, in all probability, was the inveterate grudge that the king bore to the city from his earliest youth, on account of its attachment to the earl of Leiceſter, and the insults which his mother sustained from the inhabitants. Immediately after Easter he held a parliament at Westminster, in which some antient charters were exemplified and confirmed, and the statute of Westminster I. with some others, was introduced as a law into Ireland. At the next meeting, a fortnight after Midsummer, several provisions were made to enforce the statute of Gloucester; amend and confirm laws which had lain dormant during the troubles of the kingdom; prevent the alienation of lands belonging to monasteries; and to correct sundry abuses, mentioned in these regulations, which are known by the name of the Statute of Westminster II. To this assembly is likewise ascribed the statute called *Circumspecte Agatis*, to prevent the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions from interfering with each other. In a third parliament, convoked at Winchester in October,

Rymer.

A. C. 1285. the statute of Winton was enacted for suppressing robbers, and preventing depredations, by cutting down woods that sheltered banditti; and reviving the antient customs relating to watch and ward, hue and cry, strangers, lodgers, and views of armour.

Edward does
homage at
Paris to Phi-
lip the Fair.

While Edward thus exerted the abilities of a wise legislator, Philip king of France assembled an army of one hundred thousand horse and foot; and entering Rouffillon, reduced Perpignan and Elna; while Peter, unable to cope with him in battle, acted upon the defensive, by guarding the passes, and endeavouring to cut off the enemy's convoys. Gironne, which Philip invested in the latter end of June, was valiantly defended by Raimond de Cardona for ten weeks, during which the French army was ruined by the excessive heat and scarcity of provision; for the place was at too great a distance from the sea for the besiegers to be supplied by their fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay of Roses. This fleet being divided into two squadrons, one of them was encountered at sea by Marquet, the admiral of Arragon, who took thirty of the French gallies; and the other was surpris'd and ruined in the bay of Roses by Doria, who commanded the other division of the Arragonian fleet. As the French could no longer subsist in Catalonia, and Philip himself was attacked by a dysentery, he retired to Rouffillon, and died at Montesquiou, after having lost a great number of men in this retreat; during which he was continually harrassed by Peter, who did not, however, long survive his success; for he died in November, and was succeeded in his two kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily, by his two sons Alphonso and James. Philip the Fair, who succeeded to his father's crown, found himself engaged in a double war with Arragon and Castile: he had but just attained the age of seventeen; and being de-

firous

firous of possessing in quiet the kingdom of Navarre, which he enjoyed in right of his wife, he solicited the mediation of Edward king of England towards a peace with those two potentates, who were allied to the English monarch. Edward accepted the office of mediator, sent proposals of accommodation to both kings; conferences were immediately begun, and the king having settled the affairs of the nation, in a parliament held immediately after Easter, set out for Paris about the middle of May, leaving the guardianship of the kingdom, in his absence, to his cousin Edmund earl of Cornwall. He soon concluded a truce between the powers at war; and, in consideration of his good offices, Philip indulged him with an exemption for life, from all penalty and forfeiture on account of appeals, from himself or his ministers, to the court of the French monarch, to whom he now did homage for the territories he possessed in that kingdom. A new treaty was ratified, confirming the last which had been concluded at Amiens: and then, repairing to Guienne, he convoked an assembly of the states, to make some wholesome regulations for the advantage of a country, which had lately manifested uncommon zeal for his service, in contributing both troops and money towards the conquest of Wales. Nevertheless, his gratitude to the Gascons did not prevent his putting to death the ringleaders of some turbulent individuals of Bourdeaux, who had entered into a conspiracy for surrendering that city to the French king.

Tyrrel.

During his stay in Guienne, he was seized with a dangerous distemper, and made a vow to revisit the Holy Land, provided his health should be re-established; accordingly, when he recovered, he took the cross, but fixed no time for his departure. Perhaps he thought heaven would be as well pleased

Institutes
justices of
the peace.

A. C. 1287. with his persecuting the Jews of Guienne, whom he first fleeced of a considerable sum, and then banished. Understanding that the regulations of the Statute of Winton were utterly neglected; that the roads were as dangerous as ever, from the insolence of robbers, who preyed upon their fellow-subjects with impunity; and that the want of civil policy was owing to the privileges of the barons, who interrupted the course of justice, and would not suffer criminals to be pursued through their territories; he appointed a new kind of justiciaries, immediately dependent on the royal authority, and empowered to administer justice in all parts of the kingdom, to which their commissions extended. These were granted to certain knights in every county of England, in order to keep the peace, and take care that the Statute of Winton should be duly observed: and the sheriffs were directed to assist them with the posse, if necessary, to execute their orders and warrants. Such was the origin of justices of the peace, so called from the design of their institution.

Ch. Dunst.

A rebellion raised by Rufe ap Meredith, who is taken and executed.

Mean while a rebellion was raised by Rufe ap Meredith, a powerful nobleman in South Wales, who had served the king in the late war against his own countrymen. Edward had knighted him for his valour and fidelity, which he promised to reward more effectually with the grant of certain lands and preferments. This promise was never performed, and Rufe became of consequence a malcontent; yet he did not express his disgust, until he was summoned to appear in the king's court, by Payne Tiptoft, warden of the king's castles in that country. Meredith resented this citation, which was contrary to the antient privilege he enjoyed: a quarrel ensued, and several skirmishes were fought, with various success, to the great annoyance of the neighbourhood. The king, ap-
prized

prized of these disputes, wrote a letter to Reſe, A. G. 1287. commanding him to deſiſt from ſuch violent meaſures; but, inſtead of obeying this order, he ſurprized divers caſtles, and reduced ſeveral towns to aſhes. Then the earl of Cornwall ſummoned the military tenants of the crown; and marching into Wales, made himſelf maſter of Droſtan, the ſtrongeſt fortrefs belonging to Reſe, who retired to the woods, from whence he made incurſions into the adjacent country; and, falling upon detached parties of the Engliſh army by ſurprize, deſtroyed ſuch a number of men, that the earl of Cornwall was glad to conclude a truce, and return with diſgrace from a very expenſive expedition. Meredith, however, without regarding this agreement, renewed his depredations, until lord Robert Tiptoft aſſembled a body of forces, with which he routed this Welſh nobleman in the field, and then ſet a price upon his head; ſo that, finding his life unſafe in his own country, he withdrew himſelf into Ireland, where he reſided upon the eſtate of the earl of Glouceſter, who in private had connived at his practices. After having reſided four years in that kingdom, he returned to Wales, where he was diſcovered and apprehended among the mountains; then he was conveyed to the king at Berwick, where he underwent the new ſpecies of torture which had been contrived for his countryman Llewellyn.

Ch. T.
Wykes.
Tyrrel.

The king ſtill continued at Bourdeaux, labouring at an accommodation between the king of Arragon and Charles prince of Salerno, who had been taken priſoner in a ſea-engagement by Doria, the Arragonian admiral. At length Alphonſo agreed to releaſe Charles, provided he would relinquish Sicily, Rhegio, the tribute of Tunis, and procure a revocation of all the meaſures which the court of Rome had taken to the prejudice of the houſe of Arragon. This treaty was condemned and declared

Edward mediates a treaty between Alphonſo king of Arragon and Charles of Salerno.

A. C. 1288. red null by pope Honorius IV. who died in the course of this year. He entertained sanguine hopes from the armament of the count d'Artois, who had formed the design of recovering Sicily, and actually invaded that island: but his attempt proved very unsuccessful; his fleet was surpris'd, and the greatest part of it taken by Doria, and his forces were oblig'd to retire with great loss to Italy. The see of Rome was, after a year's vacancy, fill'd with Nicholas V. who desired the king of England to procure the enlargement of Charles, before the treaty should be executed. For this purpose, Edward propos'd that the prince of Salerno should be set at liberty, on giving his own three sons, and those of forty noblemen in Provence, as hostages, together with security for seventy thousand marks, and the delivery of Provence, in case he should not perform articles, or fail of returning within three years to his confinement. Edward not only propos'd this expedient, but also took a journey to Iacco in Arragon, in order to facilitate the treaty, which was at last ratify'd; and then Charles obtained his liberty. But he paid very little regard to the agreement; for he no sooner arriv'd in Italy, than he was absolv'd of his oath by the pope, and crown'd king of the two Sicilies, which he endeavour'd to conquer by force of arms, in direct violation of the treaty. When summon'd to return to his confinement in Arragon, he march'd to the frontiers of that kingdom, at the head of an army, in order to evade his promise: but another treaty was afterwards concluded, with the consent of the pope, on condition that Alphonso should not assist his brother James king of Sicily; and that Charles should renounce all claim to the kingdom of Arragon. This accommodation was follow'd by the death of Alphonso, just when he was about to marry Eleanor the daughter of Edward; and the kingdoms of Aragon

ragon and Sicily being united under his brother James, the prince of Salerno found it a very difficult task to execute his designs upon the last of these realms.

A. C. 1288,

Rymer:

Edward was so much engrossed by his schemes on the continent, that he seemed to look upon England as a secondary consideration. He had now resided in Guienne about three years, during which he had expended considerable sums of English money upon the continent; at length his finances being exhausted, he ordered the bishop of Ely his treasurer to demand a subsidy; and a parliament, or great council of the nobility, being assembled at Westminster, he signified the king's pleasure: but the earl of Gloucester, in the name of the rest, declared they would not grant a subsidy while the king continued abroad; so that he was obliged to raise money for the present exigency, by laying a talliage on all the cities, towns, and manors, of the crown demesnes. Edward, startled at the peremptory refusal of his nobility, thought it high time to return to England, which he found in great confusion, occasioned by the injustice and oppression of the judges and officers of the crown, while the nation was exposed to the depredations of armed banditti, who set the laws at defiance. Edward ordered proclamations to be made in the cities and market towns of every county, that all who had been aggrieved or oppressed by the judges or other officers, should come and exhibit their complaints at the next parliament, which he had summoned to meet at Martinmas. In consequence of this invitation, a great number of plaintiffs appeared; and all the judges, except two, being convicted of bribery and corruption, their estates were forfeited, and their places filled with men of approved integrity.

Edward returns to England, and punishes the judges.

A. C. 1289,

C. T. Wylk,

Having performed this act of reformation in behalf of the people, he, in two parliaments convened after

The Jews are expelled the kingdom.

A. C. 1290. after the feasts of St. Hilary and Easter, enacted some laws for the advantage of the nobility: these were contained in the Statute of Westminster III. They secured to lords paramount their rights in the marriages, wardships, and escheats of their vassals, of which they had been long defrauded by the practice of feoffments. He likewise passed the Quo Warranto, establishing all the liberties which had been allowed in the preceding reign, enjoyed from time immemorial, or expressly contained in charters. The manner of levying fines was regulated on this occasion; and Edward, in order to conciliate the affection of his subjects, and consult his own interest at the same time, published a proclamation for banishing all the Jews for ever out of the kingdom. They had rendered themselves equally odious to the English, by their usury and by their religion; they were ordered to quit the kingdom on pain of death, before the first day of November; and, in the mean time, all their effects were confiscated to the king, except as much money as would defray the expence of their voyage to the continent. He furnished them likewise with a safe-conduct, in contempt of which they were plundered by the seamen of the Cinque-Ports of the pittance they still possessed; and of fifteen thousand who obeyed the king's mandate, some hundreds were drowned out of mere wantonness of inhumanity. Besides the great sums arising from the confiscation of their effects, the clergy were so well pleased with the expulsion of those enemies to Christianity, that they granted a tenth of their benefices to the king, and afterwards joined with the nobility in obliging him with a fifteenth of their temporalities, to make some amends for the loss he sustained by the exile of the Jews, from whom he and his predecessors had exacted considerable subsidies in the emergency of affairs.

This expulsion was followed by the marriage of Gilbert earl of Gloucester with Edward's daughter Jane, which was solemnized in April, after that powerful nobleman had obliged himself by oath to maintain the lineal succession of the crown of England. In July her sister Beatrix was married to the eldest son of John duke of Brabant; but the satisfaction arising from these alliances was soon damped, by the lamented death of queen Eleanor, which happened in the course of this year, in the neighbourhood of Grantham in Lincolnshire. When Edward took the cross in Guienne, the pope immediately declared him general in chief of the crusade; but he was determined against embarking in such an expedition, without a proper fund for maintaining an army equal to the importance of such an enterprize. He demanded the tenths of all ecclesiastical revenues of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, to be levied for twelve years, together with all the charitable contributions that should be raised during that period by his own subjects, for the relief of Palestine, as well as a moiety of what should be collected in the territories of other princes, who had not engaged personally in the crusade. Several popes had successively amused him with evasive answers; till at length Tripoli being taken by the soldan of Babylon, and the Holy Land in imminent danger of being intirely lost, Nicholas V. complied with the substance of his demand; fixed the time of the general embarkation, and issued orders for raising the tenths of the second six years in England. For this purpose, he directed his commissioners to form a new valuation of all benefices, which is called the taxation of pope Nicholas; and was afterwards generally followed in the like assessments. Edward now declared his resolution to set out for Palestine at the time appointed; but before that arrived, Acra was lost, and the Holy Land entirely con-

A. C. 1290.
The king declares his resolution of embarking for the Holy Land.

Rymers

quered

A. C. 1290.

Frynne.

quered by the Saracens : difasters which put an end, for some time, to all those wild projects of enthusiasm and papal ambition, which had robbed Europe of infinite treasure, and an incredible number of men, to the unspeakable prejudice of the different countries to which they belonged. But even if those misfortunes had not happened to the christians in Palestine, Edward, in all probability, would have been hindered from embarking in the enterprize, by the troubles of Scotland, in which he was much more deeply interested, and by which his attention was chiefly engrossed during the remaining part of his life.

Contract of marriage between prince Edward and Margaret the young queen of Scotland.

Alexander III. king of Scotland had been killed by a fall from his horse, leaving no issue but Margaret, married to Eric king of Norway ; and she was daughter to Margaret sister of king Edward. She did not long survive her father ; and dying left only one child of her name, commonly called the Maid of Norway. This infant was acknowledged heiress of the crown of Scotland in a full parliament of that kingdom, who proclaimed her accession, and appointed guardians of the realm during her absence. Edward projected an union of England and Scotland, by means of a match between his son and this princess, which was agreeable to Eric, and approved by the guardians of Scotland, in a treaty at Salisbury, where it was agreed between the king of England, Eric of Norway, and the Scottish deputies, that Margaret should be sent to Scotland, as soon as the guardians should give security that they would not dispose of her in marriage, without the consent of her father and great uncle. As prince Edward was related to Margaret within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, there was a necessity for obtaining a dispensation from the pope, which was immediately granted upon the king's paying the arrears of the tribute which had been for some years

years neglected. The guardians and parliament of Scotland sent letters to Edward, congratulating him upon the removal of this obstruction, expressing their earnest desire of seeing the marriage completed, and signifying their resolution of sending deputies to the English parliament, to give their consent to this alliance, and regulate all the measures necessary for carrying it into execution. At the same time they wrote to the king of Norway, desiring him to send his daughter to England with all convenient expedition. Commissioners were appointed to treat with the Scottish deputies; and the treaty of marriage was concluded on the following stipulations: That Scotland should for ever enjoy all its antient rights, liberties, and customs; and the crown revert to the next heirs, free and independent, in case Edward and Margaret should die without issue: That Scotland should remain separate from England by its established boundaries: That the chapters of cathedral, collegiate, and conventual churches, should enjoy the freedom of election, without being obliged to go out of the kingdom, to ask Conges d'Elire, present their elect, or take an oath of fealty to the king of Scotland: That the natives of that country should not be sued or obliged to answer to any charge out of the realm: That all rolls, charters, privileges, and muniments, concerning the kingdom, should be kept under the seals of the nobility: That the late king's great seals should be used till the arrival of the queen, and then a new seal be made with the usual arms and inscription, to be delivered into the hands of the chancellor, who, as well as the judges and other officers, should always be a native of Scotland, residing in the kingdom: That all writs issued out of chancery should be according to the usual course of the king's chapel and realm of Scotland: That no alienation or alteration of aught belonging to

A. C. 1290. the royal dignity, should be made before the queen's arrival: That the heirs of the nobility, in ward of the crown, should not be married to their disparagement: That no parliament, for the affairs of the kingdom, should be held without the Marches of Scotland: And that no talliages or taxes should be imposed upon the Scots, except according to the ancient custom of their kings, and for the common business of the kingdom. These articles being ratified, the bishop of Durham was appointed Margaret's lieutenant in Scotland; and two of the Scottish commissioners, with the earl of Warenne and dean of York, set sail for Norway, to settle every thing relating to the marriage. Prince Edward constituted the earl of Warenne his proxy, to contract marriage in his behalf with the young queen; and the Scottish deputies engaged to deliver all the castles and forts of their kingdom to Edward and Margaret, and obey them as their king and queen, in all things relating to that country. The two nations seemed extremely well disposed for an union at this conjuncture, after they had lived above one hundred years in uninterrupted friendship; and this marriage would, in all probability, have been attended with an entire incorporation, had not all these consequences been prevented by the untimely end of Margaret, who died before the commissioners arrived in Norway.

Buchanan.
A. C. 1291.

Edward's
claim of su-
periority
over the
kingdom of
Scotland.

The death of this princess produced a dispute about the succession to the Scottish throne, which exposed that country to ruin and desolation, and even involved England in confusion and calamity. The crown of Scotland was claimed by twelve competitors, and the nation divided into as many factions for the support of their different pretensions: the guardians would not presume to decide a dispute of such importance; the nobility in parliament could not agree in their opinions; and the decision
by

by a majority would have been of very dangerous consequence to the kingdom, as the minority would certainly have kindled a civil war in the bowels of their country. After long debates, they unanimously agreed to refer the contest to the determination of the king of England; and William de Frazer bishop of St. Andrew's, with some other deputies, were sent to desire Edward would take upon himself the office of arbitrator. He was extremely well pleased with this application, which afforded an handle for establishing a right of superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, which would extend his dominion over the whole island of Great-Britain: a project which, in all probability, he would have attempted to execute, even if this opportunity had not offered. We have already seen, in his conquest of Wales, how little scrupulous he was in point of equity, where his interest and ambition were concerned; and therefore we shall be the less surpris'd, at his insisting upon a claim for which he or any other prince might have done homage to his predecessors for their territories, even when they possessed no lands in England. The Scots, on the other hand, affirm that their monarchs never did homage to any king of England, except for lands in Cumberland and other parts of England, which they possessed by the same tenure as that on which the English kings had enjoyed Normandy and Guienne on the continent; for, with respect to the absolute submission of William during his captivity, it was not only considered as an act upon compulsion, but also relinquish'd in the most solemn manner, by Richard Cœur de Lion. Both sides are guilty of a wilful or involuntary mistake; the English in pretending to a superiority over all Scotland, because it extended over part of that kingdom; and the Scots in affirming the homage of their kings was pay'd for Cumberland, whereas

A.C. 1291

Rymér.

A. C. 1291. in fact it was the Cumbrian kingdom, otherwise called Valentia, extending over the shires of Kyle, Cunningham, Carrick, Renfrew, and Galloway, that antiently depended upon the crown of England. This country, inhabited by Britons, was entirely conquered and reduced by Edmund, who bestowed it upon Malcolm I. king of Scotland, as a fief to be held in fealty of the crown of England by the service of guarding the Northumbrian territories from the invasion of enemies: Malcolm renewed his oath of fealty to Edred, who succeeded his brother; Edinburgh was granted by Edgar to Indulf king of Scotland; and to this was afterwards added Lothian, comprehending the country between the Tweed and the Forth, which Kenneth III. received upon the terms of homage and vassalage to the crown of England. While the father did homage for this accession of territory, his son Malcolm swore fealty to Edgar for the Cumbrian principality, as heir apparent of the Scottish throne; Duncan, grandson to Malcolm II. made the like submission to Canute; and Malcolm III. during the usurpation of Macbeth, found a safe retreat in this Cumbrian kingdom. Thither too Fleance fled for refuge after the murder of his father; and marrying the daughter of one of those British Reguli, transmitted the inheritance of Galloway to his posterity. Malcolm did homage to William the Conqueror, though he did not possess one acre of land in England; consequently this submission must have related to the county of Lothian, the grant of which was confirmed to him by that monarch. He afterwards recognized his vassalage to William Rufus; and his successor Edgar, in a charter to the church of Durham, acknowledged that he possessed the county of Lothian by the grant of his lord, William king of England. David I. attended as a peer or vassal of England

at the courts and councils of his brother-in-law Henry I. and swore to the succession of Maude the Empress; Malcolm IV. did the same homage to Henry II. with a clause saving his royal dignity; the same homage and fealty was payed and sworn by his brother and successor William, at a time when he possessed no lands in England. We have already mentioned his captivity and submission to his conqueror, of whom he agreed to hold the kingdom of Scotland and all his other territories by liege homage and fealty: from this convention, though ratified by the parliament of Scotland, he was afterwards released by king Richard, who consented to receive his homage as it had been payed by his predecessor Malcolm. He in the sequel swore fealty to John, at Lincoln, with the saving clause, which was also retained in the homage done by his successor Alexander II. to Henry III. at Northampton. When Alexander III. solemnized his nuptials at York, he was required by his father-in-law Henry to do homage for the kingdom of Scotland; but he refused to make such a concession without the advice and consent of his parliament; and Henry was content to receive it for Lothian and the other territories which he held of the crown of England. From this short historical deduction, it plainly appears that the English claim too much, and the Scots give up too little; that the kings of Scotland enjoyed their antient dominions in their own right, without vassalage or dependance; and that they derived the possession of the Cumbrian kingdom of Strathcluyd, as well as Lothian, from the grants of English monarchs, on condition of paying homage and service for such concessions.

Rymer,

Edward in all likelihood was very well acquainted with these particulars, as he had ordered inquiries to be made on this subject, that he might be master of all the arguments and precedents that could be

A. C. 1291. advanced in favour of his claim; but he depended much more upon the influence of his arbitration, which he knew would enable him to obtain a recognition of his superiority from the competitors to the throne and their adherents. In a word, we may safely affirm that he was determined at all events to subdue the whole kingdom to his sway, and for that purpose to manage the different factions into which it was divided. He had already made a conquest of Wales, and the reduction of Scotland would have rounded his dominions. Could he have made himself unrivalled lord of Great-Britain, he might with more advantage have prosecuted his designs upon the continent. Actuated by those principles he convened the claimants and nobility of Scotland at Norham on the river Tweed, where the conferences were opened; and in a general assembly, which met in the parish church, Roger de Brabancon justiciary of England declared to the competitors and Scottish nobility, that king Edward was come to quiet the troubles of their country, to do justice between man and man, and take cognizance of the dispute concerning the crown, by virtue of his own right of superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, which he now required them to acknowledge. They were not a little astonished at this proposal; but being surrounded by a strong body of forces, assembled to overawe their deliberations, they durst not avow their sentiments: though they desired time to consult with the prelates and nobility that were absent, before they would declare themselves on a subject of such importance. Edward told them he expected their answer next day, when they made the same objection; and were indulged with three weeks, within which they were required to prepare whatever they might have to say to the prejudice of his pretensions. This term being expired,

He acts as umpire in the competition for the Scottish crown; the nobility of that kingdom and all the competitors acknowledged his supremacy.

pired, they assembled on a plain in the parish of ^{A. C. 1291} Upsel-lynton, on the Scottish side of the Tweed, opposite to the castle of Norham, where the king resided. The bishop of Bath and Wells was sent to know their resolution, and demand whether they had any charter or evidence to produce against his claim of superiority and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland. As they made no answer, he interpreted their silence into consent; and addressing himself to Robert de Brus lord of Anandale, and one of the most powerful of the competitors, asked if he would acknowledge Edward as sovereign of Scotland, and stand to his award in that quality? Robert replied in the affirmative. The same question was put to Florence count of Holland; and John Hattings, who replied to the same purpose; then Patrick Dunbar earl of March, William de Ross, William Vesey by proxy, Robert de Pinkney, and Nicholas Soules, appeared severally to claim the crown of Scotland by the right of succession; and agreed to abide by the decision of Edward, as lord-paramount of that kingdom. John Baliol was absent; but, at the request of his proxy, the meeting was adjourned till next day, in the church of Norham, where he joined the other competitors in signing a recognition of Edward's superiority. The king of England was well acquainted with the merits of the cause, and knew very well that the contest would be between Brus and Baliol; but, in order to keep these candidates dependent upon his will and subservient to his views, he encouraged, and, in all probability, raised up the other competitors. He naturally concluded that no individual among them would preclude himself from all hope of success by disobliging the arbitrator of his cause; but, lest any one or all of them should prove refractory, he had prepared a very strong body of militia to extort

A, C, 1291. their concession; and, when the Scottish nobility seemed to boggle at his proposal, he swore by St. Edward that he would venture his life in the prosecution of his right, which he pretended to demonstrate by irrefragable proofs, which were no other than a collection of exploded fables, extorted deeds of submission, and monkish forgeries. The pains he took to support his claim betrayed the weakness of his pretensions. He could not produce one authentic voucher, except the submission of William during his confinement, which Richard relinquished in the sequel. His sovereignty being thus acknowledged by the competitors, including John de Cumin, who at this meeting gave in his claim, which was admitted among the rest; it was agreed, by the noblemen and prelates of both nations, that he should be enabled to execute his sentence, by granting the kingdom to him who should appear to have the best right; and for that purpose it was determined that he should be put in possession of all the fortresses in the kingdom. This was a strain of complaisance which must have been inspired by the most abject fear, or the most servile flattery, after he had publicly declared that although he acted in this dispute as lord-paramount of Scotland, he did not mean to desist from his own pretensions to the crown of that kingdom; but reserved to himself the liberty of prosecuting his rights in such manner and at such time as he should think proper to adopt. How disagreeable soever this acknowledgment must have been to the body of the Scottish nation, they were obliged to submit to the transaction: all their nobles were either cajoled by the promises or intimidated by the threats of Edward; and his troops hovered about the borders, ready to fall upon their country, should they manifest the least tendency to opposition. Nevertheless the regents though it was incumbent upon them

Ch, Ab.

them to obtain some sort of satisfaction for the people; and demanded letters-patent from Edward, declaring that the dispute should be decided within the kingdom of Scotland; a favour which he readily granted, at their humble request, considering their demand as a further acknowledgement of his sovereignty. These previous measures being taken they resolved to proceed to the examination of the claims; and the competitors agreed that forty persons should be named by Robert de Brus, as many by John Baliol and John Cumin, and four and twenty by king Edward, to investigate the different pretensions of the claimants, and make their report to the umpire, after having duly considered the circumstances of the dispute. The commissioners being chosen, the town of Berwick was pitched upon as the place of meeting, and the time limited to the second day of August. But, before they quitted Norham, the regents of Scotland and the governors of the castles surrendered their commissions to Edward, who restored them with some little alteration, and appointed the bishop of Caithness high chancellor of the kingdom, associated with one of his own secretaries called Walter de Hamondesham. Orders were issued for all those who enjoyed posts in Scotland to come and take the oath of allegiance to king Edward, who in the mean time exacted it from the competitors and all present; and then repairing to Berwick, even before the commissioners assembled, he published a declaration, importing that although he had consented to the succession's being decided within the kingdom of Scotland, he did not mean to restrict himself to the same concession on any future occasion. The commissioners meeting at the appointed day, in presence of his majesty, received the claims of the different competitors; but, as the chief contest lay between Baliol and Bruce, we shall waive the pretensions of

A. C. 1291. the others, and only observe that the first of these pretended to the crown, as son of Devergild the eldest daughter of Margaret, the first born child of David earl of Huntingdon, brother to king William, whose posterity was extinct in the person of the last queen Margaret. Robert de Brus alleged that he was in a nearer degree of consanguinity, as being the grandson of David, whereas his competitor was no more than the great grandchild: that Alexander II. had declared him his successor, in case he should die without issue; and that Alexander III. had always looked upon him as his presumptive heir; a circumstance that he could prove by the evidence of several persons who had heard him explain his sentiments on that subject. The different claims being read and reported, by the commissioners to the king, he, with the consent of the competitors, prorogued the assembly to the month of June in the succeeding year, when he proposed they should proceed in the examination of the titles, so as that the dispute might be decided.

C. T. Wik.

Edward's
mother dies.

This recess was owing to the death of Edward's mother, who was interred at Ambresbury with great solemnity, the king in person attending her funeral, with all the prelates and nobility of the kingdom. The fifteenth granted at the expulsion of the Jews having been levied only in those parts of England which were immediately subject to the crown, commissions were issued for assessing it upon the counties palatine of Cheshire and Pembroke, the principality of Wales, and the estates belonging to the English nobility in Ireland. At the same time all who possessed forty pounds a year in land were summoned to come and receive the honour of knighthood at Christmas. Gilbert earl of Gloucester had lately erected a castle on the lands belonging to Humphrey Bohun earl of Hereford, who complaining of this injury in the king's court,

Quarrel between the earls of Gloucester and Hereford.

court, Edward reserved the cognizance of the cause to himself, and forbade the parties to violate the peace of the country. Notwithstanding this injunction, Gilbert's vassals invaded Humphrey's territories in Brecknockshire, with banner displayed, and ravaged the country. These depredations were retorted by Humphrey's tenants; abundance of bloodshed ensued, and the whole neighbourhood was exposed to the calamities of civil war. The king issued a special commission for inquiring into the facts, which were ascertained by a verdict of jurors; and the inquest being returned to his majesty, the two earls were summoned to Ambresbury to answer for their contempt of his inhibition. Another inquiry was begun before the king himself and his council at Abergaveny; and both earls being found guilty, were taken into custody, and their liberties seized into the king's hands. They were dismissed however, upon giving bail for their appearance; and the cause being tried before the council, the king pronounced sentence, by which the liberties of Glamorgan and Brecknock were forfeited during the lives of the earls, who were sent to prison till ransomed at the king's pleasure. Hereford compounded for a thousand marks; but Gloucester, having been found the aggressor, was obliged to give security for paying ten times that sum before he could procure his liberty.

A. C. 1291.

A. C. 1292.

Cartes

After the decision of this affair, Edward made a progress through Suffolk, Norfolk, and other northern counties; and in the beginning of June arrived at Berwick, where the prelates and nobility of both kingdoms were assembled, with the commissioners, for examining the claims of the competitors. At the very beginning of this session, the ambassadors of Norway demanded the crown for their master, as heir to his own daughter Margaret; and his claim was admitted among those of the other pretenders, after they had, in their
king's

The king decides the dispute about the Scottish crown in favour of Baliol.

A. C. 1292. king's name, acknowledged Edward's right of sovereignty over Scotland. As the examination of such a number of claims was attended with tedious disputes and disquisitions, which protracted the determination of the cause, the king proposed that they should begin with the pretensions of Bruce and Baliol, without prejudice to those of the other claimants, which should be afterwards discussed; but warm debates arising among the commissioners about the laws and customs according to which the dispute should be determined, Edward adjourned the assembly to October, when they unanimously agreed that the judgment ought to be regulated according to the laws and customs prevailing in the king's dominions; and that the kingdom of Scotland should be considered as an indivisible fief. Then Bruce and Baliol were asked if they had any thing further to say in behalf of their respective claims, which they endeavoured to corroborate by several plausible arguments and explanations. These being discussed, the king proposed the following question, "Whether the more distant issue of the eldest, or nearer offspring of the second daughter, ought to be preferred?" And the commissioners unanimously answered, that, according to the laws and customs of both kingdoms, the descendant of the eldest was preferable to the other. After this decision Edward ordered them to canvas the point in his hearing, and then declared he would give judgment on the sixth day of November, when he solemnly pronounced the claim of Robert de Brus defective; but, as the exclusion of this competitor did not ascertain the title of Baliol, he ordered the examiners to take cognizance of the other pretenders. The contest between Baliol and Bruce being determined, John Hastings alledged that Scotland as a fief was divisible; and therefore ought to be divided among the three descendants of David earl of Huntingdon, whose youngest daughter was

his mother. He was seconded in this claim by Robert de Brus, who now demanded a third part of the kingdom, as son and heir of the second daughter. Edward again demanded of the commissioners, whether or not Scotland was an indivisible fief; and they answering as before, he adjourned the assembly to the seventeenth day of the month, when summoning all the competitors to appear and justify their pretensions, the ambassadors of Norway, Florence of Holland, William de Vescy, Dunbar, Ross, Pinkeney, and Soules, withdrew their claims; John Cumin was nonsuited, because he did not appear; and the king pronounced that John Hastings and Robert de Brus had no title to any share of the kingdom of Scotland, which was a fief indivisible. Baliol therefore standing without competitor, was declared king of Scotland, though Edward reserved to himself and his successors the right of prosecuting their own pretensions. Orders were immediately issued for putting him in possession of the kingdom; and he took the oath of fealty, acknowledging the sovereignty of Edward and his successors over Scotland, in the most explicit and submissive terms, enacted into an authentic constitution: then he was installed at Scone with the usual formalities; and all the noblemen of Scotland swore allegiance to him, except Robert de Brus, who absented himself from this ceremony, which was no sooner finished than the new king repaired to Newcastle upon Tyne, where he did homage to Edward, with such expressions as strongly marked his vassalage and dependence.

Rot. de
Superioritat;
Reg. Ang-
liæ.
Brady.
Buchanan.

The king of England seemed impatient for an opportunity to manifest that right of sovereignty which he had been at such pains to establish. While he resided at Newcastle, a burgher of Berwick complained of an injury he had received from certain

A. C. 1293.

A. C. 1293

His arbitrary behaviour to that prince in summoning him before his court in different causes and appeals.

tain English officers, who had been sent upon some commission to Scotland; and he ordered the cause to be tried before his own judges in England. The council of Scotland, alarmed at this arbitrary injunction, sent deputies to remind him of his promise and engagement, by which he was restrained from evoking Scottish causes before the tribunal of any other kingdom. To this remonstrance he replied, that he could not allow such a suit to be tried before any judge but himself, as it did not become vassals to correct the faults of those who represented the person of their sovereign. In order to anticipate such complaints for the future, he sent a declaration to the council of Scotland, giving them to understand, that although, while their throne was vacant, he had made some occasional promises, which were performed, he did not mean to be restricted by those condescensions, now that they had a king of their own; nor to depart from his right of judging all affairs that concerned their kingdom, at any time or place that he should think proper. He expressed himself in the same terms at his own court, in presence of Baliol and many noblemen of both nations; and, moreover, declared his intention of sending for the king of Scotland into England, as often as he should deem his presence necessary or expedient. He pronounced these words in a transport of passion; so that Baliol did not think proper to expostulate upon the subject with a prince of his imperious temper: but, in a few days, he had another opportunity of exercising his patience; for Edward obliged him to renounce, by an authentic deed, for himself and his successors, all the promises, concessions, and ratifications, made by the king of England, during the vacancy of the Scottish throne; and to approve of all the steps he had taken in that period. This bitter draught, however, he sweetened by granting

letters patent, in which he relinquished all other right but that of homage to the crown of Scotland; and gave up, for himself and his successors, all claim to the wardship of minors, as well as the prerogative of marrying them, according to his pleasure. These were not all the instances which Edward exhibited of his design to exercise his right, in its utmost extent, over the kingdom of Scotland. A merchant of Gascony presented to him a memorial, in which he represented that Alexander, the last king of Scotland, was indebted to him for a sum of money, which the new king refused to pay; and therefore he had recourse for justice to king Edward, as lord-paramount of Scotland. In consequence of this petition, Edward summoned the king of Scotland to appear in person, and answer the charge of the merchant, before his court at Westminster. In a few days after this citation, Baliol received another, on account of Macduff earl of Fife, who had been imprisoned for seizing some lands unjustly, by order of the first parliament assembled at Scone, after John's elevation to the throne: he was no sooner set at liberty than he preferred his complaint to Edward, and Baliol was summoned to appear at a certain time and place. In the month of June, he was a third time cited upon the following subject: the king of England had ordered Walter de Huntercombe, governor of the isle of Man, to put Baliol in possession of that island; but afterwards a lady called Austringa, claimed possession as heir at law, and her pretensions being rejected, she appealed to Edward. David king of Scotland had formerly granted to the monastery of Reading a priory dependent on the bishopric of St. Andrew's, which was afterwards alienated by the abbot of Reading, in favour of the see, which had been dismembered: a succeeding abbot pretended the alienation had
been

A. C. 1293.

Act. Pub.

- A. C. 1293. been made without the consent of the monks, and presented a petition to the king, desiring it might be restored. The bishop appealed to the pope; and his appeal being admitted at the court of Scotland, the abbot complained to Edward, who summoned Baliol to appear before him personally fifteen days after Martinmas. In the course of the succeeding year, that prince was again ordered to appear before the king of England, to acquit himself of the charge of having refused to do justice to the bishop of Durham, in an affair relating to his diocese.
- A. C. 1294. From such a series of citations, upon the most frivolous occasions, Baliol comprehended that Edward's design was to render him a slave rather than a vassal: but as he was in no condition to shake off his dependence, he found himself obliged to obey those orders, and answer in person for the misdemeanors laid to his charge. When he was accused before the English parliament of having unjustly imprisoned the earl of Fife, he proposed to answer by proxy; but he was not allowed that privilege, and appeared at the bar as a private subject. He then pleaded, that as he acted from the right of regality, in that affair for which he was now summoned before the king, he could not make a defence without having previously consulted his subjects: this plea was over-ruled, and the parliament ordained, that three of his best castles should be seized by the king, and kept until he should have given ample satisfaction. Baliol, however, prevented this sentence, by acknowledging the direct sovereignty of Edward over Scotland, and humbly petitioning for time to consult his own parliament. His request was granted, and a day being fixed for his appearance, he withdrew full of indignation and chagrin. Edward's aim in humbling the king of Scots, was, in all probability, to provoke that prince to a revolt, which would furnish

furnish him with a pretence to subdue the whole kingdom, and seize the property of it into his own hands.

A. C. 1294.

Rymer.
Ryley.

Baliol resolved to take the first opportunity of freeing himself from such a shameful and slavish dependence; and he derived hopes from a rupture which about this time happened between France and England. This took its rise from a petty quarrel between a few mariners of each nation, which afforded a pretext to the French king to summon Edward to his court of peers, to answer for the hostilities committed on the natives of France, by his subjects. Edward, apprehensive of a war, immediately detached John de St. John to defend Guienne; and, at the same time, sent his brother, Edmund earl of Lancaster, to Paris, with full powers to treat of an accommodation. Philip insisted upon satisfaction for the affront he had received in the persons of his officers, who had been maltreated in Guienne. A private treaty was brought on the carpet, for a marriage between the king of England and Margaret of France, daughter of the late king Philip the Hardy. By the articles of this alliance, it was stipulated that the son of this marriage should, after his father's decease, enjoy Guienne for himself and the heirs of his body; and, that if he should die without issue, the country should revert to the crown of England. As these articles could not be executed without a new feofment of that dutchy to Edward for life; and for the uses specified, after his decease, it was necessary that the French king should have seisin of the whole province. The marriage-contract being signed and ratified by Edward, and the king of France having promised, on the word of a king, to observe all the stipulations, the earl of Lancaster sent orders to the governors of Guienne to put him in possession of the whole dutchy. After
all

The French king obtains possession of Guienne by treachery.

A. C. 1260. all the towns and fortresses had remained forty days in his custody, restitution was demanded, together with a safe-conduct for Edward, that he might go over and complete the marriage: but Philip refused both the one and the other; and, as the king of England had not obeyed the citation, he was pronounced contumacious, and judgment given against him by default. This judgment, however, was waved, as being founded on a citation which had been annulled; and Philip issued another, requiring Edward to appear at Paris in three weeks after Christmas.

Edward forms alliances on the continent.

The king of England, incensed at the perfidious conduct of the French king, instead of obeying the summons, renounced the homage he had paid on the footing of former treaties, and resolved to recover, by force of arms, the territories which Philip had so treacherously usurped. For the more easy accomplishment of this end, he engaged in alliances with his own sons-in-law, Henry count of Barre and John duke of Brabant, Amadeus count of Savoy, Adolphus of Nassau, king of the Romans; the archbishop of Cologne, the counts of Guelderland and Catzenellenbogen, and some noblemen of Burgundy, who promised to make a diversion in the provinces of France: Guy count of Flanders likewise undertook to invade the French dominions; and he himself began to prepare a fleet to transport his own army to the continent. In order to defray the expence of this armament, an additional duty was laid upon merchandize in England and Ireland; the prelates and clergy, in a convocation at Westminster, granted a moiety of all their revenues for one year: at the same time the parliament voted a subsidy, amounting to one tenth of all their effects; and the king himself issued commissions for levying one sixth part of moveables, in all the cities, boroughs, and towns of his demesnes.

demefnes. Thefe preparations, however, did not produce the defired effect. John duke of Brabant was killed by accident at a tournament: the noblemen of Burgundy were over-awed by Humbert, dauphin of the Viennois, who had entered into Philip's fervice: he received no affiftance from the German princes, though they drained him of great fums of money: Guy count of Flanders was arrefted at Paris, whither he had been fummoned on an appeal to the parliament: fome thoufands of prifoners and banditti, who had been pardoned by Edward on condition of ferving in this war, deferted before their embarkation; and his paffage was delayed by contrary winds, from Midfummer to the beginning of September, when his departure was prevented by an infurrection in Wales.

A. C. 1294.
Mat. Weft.
Rymer.
Walfing.
Clauf. 22.
Ed. I.

The natives of that country, driven to defpair by the heavy taxes with which they were faddled, ran to arms; and, feizing the collector, hanged him, with fome of his followers: then they ravaged the country, maffacring all the Englifh who fell in their way. Thefe revolters were headed in South Wales by one Morgan, in Weft Wales by Maelgun Vaughan, and in North Wales they were commanded by Madoc, a kinfman of their beloved prince Llewellyn. Morgan drove the earl of Gloucefter out of the country; Maelgun over-ran Cardigan and Pembrokefhire; Madoc furprifed Caernarvon, made himfelf mafter of the caftle, and afterwards reduced Snowdun and Anglefey. The earls of Lancafter and Lincoln were detached into North Wales, with part of the forces intended for the expedition into Gascony; and, having advanced as far as Denbigh, were attacked and defeated. Edward, alarmed at this infurrection, marched thither in perfon; and, after divers rencounters with the Welch, who fought desperately, compelled them to retire to the mountains of Snowdun, to which the king

The Welch rebel, and are reduced.

A. C. 1295, penetrated, even in the winter season. Madoc was then obliged to quit his post, and try his fortune in the Marches, where he obtained the advantage in several skirmishes; but, being at last routed on the hills near Caurs castle, he submitted to Edward, and was sent prisoner to the Tower of London. His example was followed by almost all the Welsh barons, who were imprisoned in different castles. The rest of the rebels were pardoned: but Edward declared that he would extirpate the whole race, should they ever excite another rebellion. He ordered the town and castle of Beaumaris to be rebuilt, great part of the woods in the inland parts to be cut down; and, erecting some fortresses on the sea-coast, returned in the latter end of July to London. Morgan still continued in arms in the county of Glamorgan, which held of the earl of Gloucester, who had rendered himself so odious to the natives by his pride and tyranny, that the Welsh noblemen refused to obey his superiority, though they offered to submit on condition of holding their lands of the crown of England. They were accordingly, with their leader Morgan, indulged in this respect, laid down their arms, took the oath of allegiance, and delivered hostages for their fidelity.

Progress of
the war in
Gascony.

The king, when he set out on the Welsh expedition, had sent over a body of forces to Guienne, under the command of his nephew John de Bretagne earl of Richmond, assisted by John de St. John, Robert de Tibetot, and other experienced officers. They sailed up the river Garonne, and were received into Blaye and Bourg, which having secured with garrisons, they passed by Bourdeaux, occupied by the constable de Nesle, and landed at Rions, which with St. Macaire submitted without resistance: then they extended their quarters along the Dordogne, and were joined by almost all the barons of the country. John de St. John, at the
head

head of a detachment, took Bayonne, Sordes, and several other towns and fortresses; and, being reinforced by a good number of Gascon troops, marched to St. Sever, seated on the Adour, and made himself master of the place on the seventh day of April. By this time Charles count de Valois, brother to the king of France, had taken the field with a numerous army, reduced Podensac, and invested Rions, in which John de Bretagne and Robert de Tibetot commanded a strong garrison of English and Gascons: nevertheless, they resolved to quit the place; and the inhabitants were so exasperated at their intention of leaving them to the mercy of their enemy, that an insurrection ensued. Charles, taking advantage of the tumult, entered the place, where he took a good number of English knights who had not time to retreat on board of the shipping. From this place the count de Valois marched to St. Sever; from whence St. John retired at his approach to Bayonne, after having left Hugh de Vere, with a good garrison in the place. This officer made a noble defence, and repulsed the French in so many assaults, that their army was almost ruined; till at length he was compelled by famine to surrender upon a very honourable capitulation. Charles secured the town with a numerous and well supplied body of troops; but he had no sooner retired into France with the shattered remains of his army, than St. Sever was re-taken by the English. Mean while the fleet of the Cinque-Ports distressed the French commerce in such a manner, there was hardly a ship of that nation which would venture to quit their harbours. But as the seamen of the Cinque-Ports acted more like pirates than the regular servants of the public, Edward equipped a navy of his own ships; and, dividing it into three squadrons, appointed John de Boutetort admiral, from the mouth of the Thames to the North of

An. Trivet.

A. C. 1295. England; W. de Leyburne commanded from that river South to Portsmouth, with the fleet of the Cinque-Ports added to his squadron; and the third was intrusted to an Irish nobleman, who commanded in the West, and had power over all the ships from Ireland and St. George's channel. The Northern division committed depredations on the coast of Normandy, where they burned Cherburgh, and several other towns, and ravaged the adjacent country.

Philip
threatens an
invasion of
England.

On the other hand, the king of France fitted out a strong fleet, which, under the command of Matthew de Montmorency and John de Harcourt, infested the coasts of England, and even took Dover by surprise; but the militia of the country assembling, and pouring down upon them before they had time to fortify the place, they were obliged to retire to their ships with precipitation. Philip's intention was to invade England, that he might co-operate with John Baliol, who had already engaged in a league offensive and defensive with that monarch, to be cemented by a marriage between Jane, daughter of Charles de Valois, and Edward son to John Baliol. In order to facilitate the success of the projected expedition, the French king had contracted with Eric king of Norway, for two hundred gallies, half that number of transports, and fifty thousand land-forces; but this treaty was never executed. He had likewise engaged an English knight taken at Rions, to raise an insurrection in Glamorganshire, where he had a large estate, and extensive influence; and this man, whose name was Thomas de Turbeville, coming over to England, pretended that he had escaped from a French prison. On his arrival at London, he addressed himself to the ministry, and undertook to discover the designs and weakness of the French government. He told his tale so plausibly, that he was admitted to several private conferences with Edward;

ward; but, in the midst of this communication, his correspondence with the enemy was detected, and he died the death of a traitor. The king determined to provide against this threatened invasion, summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, and issued writs for the representation of cities and boroughs, which were never regularly represented before this period. At this assembly he demanded a subsidy to carry on the war against France; and a considerable supply was granted both by the clergy and the laity. The pope had offered his mediation for a peace or truce between the two nations; and two cardinals were sent over with proposals for a cessation of hostilities, to which, however, Edward would not agree without the concurrence of his allies on the continent: yet he sent ambassadors to Cambray, where conferences were opened under the mediation of the legates; but their endeavours did not succeed. Edward equipped a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail, for the transportation of seven thousand foot and a body of horse, under the command of his brother Edmund, accompanied by Henry de Lacey earl of Lincoln. They set sail from Plymouth in the beginning of March, and landed at Bourg and Blaye, on the river Garonne; where, being joined by a good number of Gascons, they encamped within a league of Bourdeaux, which was still possessed by the enemy. In a few days after they had occupied this post, the garrison made a general sally, in which they lost two thousand men; but, Edmund being too weak to besiege the place in form, he withdrew his forces from that neighbourhood, reduced Langon, recovered St. Macaire, and marching to Bayonne, where dying of a lingering distemper, the chief command devolved to the earl of Lincoln; but nothing of consequence was transacted during the remaining part of the campaign.

A. C. 1295.

M. Westm.

A. C. 1296.

Death of
Edmund
earl of Lan-
caster.

Rymer.

A. C. 1296.

Beginning
of the war
with Scot-
land.

By this time Edward had received intimation of the league between Philip and Baliol, which last had, by means of his ally, obtained from pope Celestine, an absolution from the oath of homage he had taken to the king of England. John, together with Robert de Brus, and the earls of Marche and Buchan, had, by repeated messages, been required to send succours to Edward as vassals of his crown; but they neglected to comply with these orders, and John did not attend at the English parliament. The king of England, willing to be more certified of Baliol's intentions, demanded the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, by way of security for his behaviour, so long as the war with France should continue; but John evaded the proposal, without rejecting the demand. Then he and his nobility were summoned to a parliament convoked at Newcastle upon Tyne; and, as they neither appeared in person, nor sent any excuse, Edward was fully convinced of their dissatisfaction, and resolved to attack them without further delay. He had already appointed the rendezvous of his military tenants at this place, and issued orders for levying forces in Wales and Ireland, to assist in the Scottish expedition. While he was employed at Newcastle in assembling his forces, the guardian of the Cordeliers at Roxburgh brought a letter from Baliol, complaining of the repeated injuries he had received at the hands of Edward, and renouncing his dependence upon the crown of England. At the same time, Robert de Ros lord of Werk revolted to the enemy; but his brother William kept possession of his castle for Edward. A thousand men being detached to reinforce the garrison, were intercepted in their march by Robert, at the head of some Scottish troops, and entirely defeated. The king was no sooner apprized of this action, than he advanced with his whole army, amounting to

five and thirty thousand men, and encamped at Werk, from whence he proposed to march into Scotland after the Easter holidays. Mean while an army of Scots, commanded by the earls of Buchan, Monteith, and several other noblemen, invaded England; and having made an unsuccessful attempt upon Carlisle, returned to Scotland, to oppose the progress of Edward. That prince passing the Tweed at Coldstream, invested the town of Berwick: and the fleet of the Cinque-Ports entering the harbour, were so warmly received by the enemy, that, after an obstinate engagement, they were obliged to retire with the loss of several vessels. The king, perceiving the smoke of the burning ships, ordered the assault to be given; and the Scots were so astonished at the valour of the assailants, that they made no defence, but suffered themselves to be slaughtered without opposition. The Scottish historians affirm, that Edward was repulsed in several attacks, and at length had recourse to stratagem: that he withdrew his army as if he had meant to raise the siege; and provided banners and ensigns like those that were displayed by the Scottish kings and nobility; that he ordered his soldiers to wear St. Andrew's crosses above their armour, a mark by which the Scots distinguished themselves in battle; then returning suddenly, those who belonged to the faction of Bruce advanced before the rest, and told their countrymen, that king John was come with an army to their relief. The people and garrison crediting this information, ran out in crowds to meet their sovereign; when a detachment of horse cutting off their retreat, and seizing one of the gates, they were cut in pieces before they could put themselves in a posture of defence. The English army immediately entered the town without opposition, and massacred above seven thousand men, women, and children. The English

A. C. 1297

Berwick is besieged and taken.

Hemingford
M. Westm.

A. C. 1297.
Fordun.
Abercrom-
ly.

John Baliol
is totally
defeated at
Dunbar.

writers agree in the account of this carnage, which was made under the eye of Edward himself, not much to the credit of his humanity.

While he stayed in this place to put it in a posture of defence, the Scottish army entered Redesdale, and ravaged Northumberland as far as Hexham, burning churches and convents, and committing other acts of barbarity; but they soon retreated to their own country upon hearing that the king of England was upon his march to give them battle. The reduction of Berwick laid all the Lowlands of Scotland open to the incursions of the English; for, between this place and Edinburgh there was no other fortrefs but that of Dunbar, belonging to the earl of Marche, who was in the service of Edward. This nobleman was an adherent of Robert de Brus, son of Baliol's competitor, who died in the course of the preceding year. Edward, knowing the animosity that subsisted between these two families, had, by this time, engaged Bruce in his interest, by an offer of the crown which he intended to wrest from Baliol; and the influence of this nobleman attached the most powerful barons of Scotland to his service. The nobility that adhered to John Baliol, knowing the importance of Dunbar, prevailed upon the wife of Patrick earl of Marche to deliver up the fortrefs into their hands, and supplied it with a strong garrison to retard the progress of the English. Edward, being informed of this transaction, detached the earl of Warenne with a strong body of forces to besiege the castle, which was gallantly defended for some time, until the besieged, finding themselves unable to withstand the vigour of the assailants, demanded a cessation of three days, within which they might make their king acquainted with the nature of their situation; and they obliged themselves to surrender the fort, provided he should fail to march to their relief. Baliol, having assem-

held

bled a numerous army, resolved to hazard an engagement rather than give up a castle of such consequence; and, on the third day of the truce, he appeared in sight of Dunbar, at the head of forty thousand men. Warenne immediately advanced, and attacked him with such impetuosity, that the Scots were routed with great slaughter, and fled beyond the Forth, leaving all the southern parts to the mercy of the English. Dunbar immediately surrendered at discretion; and the castles of Jedburgh and Roxburgh followed the example of this garrison.

Edward detached Robert de Brus, and his son of the same name, to receive the submission of the barons of Annandale and Carrick; while he himself, advancing at the head of his army, reinforced by five and forty thousand men from Wales and Ireland, reduced the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and then marched to Perth, where he gave audience to the agents of John Baliol, who implored his mercy in the most abject terms of submission. Anthony Beck bishop of Durham was directed to treat with him at Kincardin; and as he assented to every thing that was proposed, his submission was performed in the church-yard of a place called Strickathroe, where he appeared meanly mounted upon a sorry horse, with a white rod in his hand, before Edward, who received him with ineffable contempt. Then he professed his sorrow and penitence; for having engaged in a league with the king of France against his liege lord, whom he now besought to forgive him for his folly; and renounced his French alliance, in the name of himself, his son Edward, and all the subjects of Scotland. An instrument containing the terms and manner of this submission, was sealed and authenticated by the nobility then present; and, as if this humiliation had not been sufficient, Baliol repeated it in the castle of Brechin, where he resigned his per-

A. C. 1297.
He resigns his crown to Edward, to whom all the freeholders in Scotland swear fealty.

son,

A. C. 1297. son, crown, dignity, and private estates, into the hands of the conqueror, who sent him under a guard to England. The great seal of Scotland was now broken, as being of no further use; and another, with the English arms, was made and delivered to Walter de Agmondesham. The king appointed Hugh de Cressingham treasurer; W. de Ormesby, justiciary; Henry Percy, warden of Galloway; and John de Warenne earl of Surry, guardian of the kingdom. Edward having proceeded as far north as Murray; and finding the country quiet and submissive, returned by the way of Scone, from whence he carried off the famous stone chair on which the kings of Scotland used to be placed at their coronation; and this precaution, trivial as it may seem to be, contributed in a great measure to tame the people to the English yoke; for the chair was implicitly and universally believed to be the palladium of their monarchy. At the same time he ordered all the records of the kingdom to be taken away or destroyed, that the Scots might have no monuments of their former independency. Having thus finished the conquest of that kingdom, he marched back to Berwick, where he convened the prelates, nobility, freeholders, with the deputies of the royal boroughs and other communities of the realm, who renounced the alliance with France, did homage for their lands, swore fealty to the king of England as their lord-paramount, and subscribed an authentic deed, specifying all these articles of their submission. Edward having subdued Scotland, and secured the tranquillity of that country by prudent regulations, disbanded his forces, and returned to the southern parts of his dominions, accompanied by John Cumin of Badenogh, and some other Scottish noblemen, whom he thought proper to detain as prisoners of war, until his dispute with France should be decided.

As this expedition had been very expensive, and A. C. 1297. Edward had remitted great sums to support the war in Gascony, he assembled a parliament at St. Edmundsbury, where he received a considerable supply from the laity; but met with an absolute refusal from the clergy, who pleaded a late bull of pope Boniface, forbidding them to grant subsidies to princes without the pope's licence, and prohibiting all sovereigns from levying such supplies, on pain of incurring the sentence of excommunication. This bull had been obtained by the interest of Robert de Winchelsey archbishop of Canterbury, with the concurrence of the English clergy, that they might be protected from all taxation. Edward, equally incensed and astonished at their refusal, adjourned their meeting till January, that they might have time to deliberate upon his demand, and form their final resolution on the subject. Mean while the king's daughter Elizabeth was married to John the young count of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland; and the nuptials were solemnized at Ipswich. Guy count of Flanders, having been released from his confinement in France, renewed his treaty with Edward, who agreed to supply him with a considerable subsidy, that he might be enabled to levy a strong body of forces, with which he intended to invade the dominions of Philip. It was likewise stipulated that prince Edward should espouse the count's daughter Philippa. The other confederates, whom he had formerly engaged, continued still staunch to his interest; but as they could not be retained without repeated subsidies, he expected with impatience the next meeting of the clergy, in hope of finding them well disposed to relieve his necessities. But, instead of receiving a favourable answer at their convocation, the archbishop of Canterbury told the king's commissioners, in the name of his brethren, that they had two superiors, namely,

A. C. 1297. ly, the pope and the king; and though they were bound to obey both, yet they owed the greater obedience to his holiness, as their spiritual lord and master. Edward was not a prince to be treated in this manner with impunity; he resolved to be king in his own dominions without any competition; and he looked upon the power of the pope as an impudent usurpation, which none but weak princes would endure. He thought those who disclaimed or endeavoured to depress the royal authority, did not deserve its protection; and that none should enjoy the benefit of the laws, except those who contributed to relieve the necessities of the government. In these sentiments he sent orders to all the sea-ports, to prevent any persons leaving the kingdom without his special licence; then he withdrew his protection from the clergy, by a declaration published in all his courts, and seized all their lay-fees, goods and chattels: but this severity extended no farther than the province of Canterbury, because the clergy of York had already complied with the king's demands, and obtained a particular writ of protection. The recusants were now reduced to a deplorable condition: their effects were seized, and their revenues sequestered; they were disabled from suing at law, while they themselves lay exposed to suits, and all manner of outrages and indignities, without having any right of recovery or redress. Winchelsey derived fresh obstinacy from prosecution: he ordered the pope's bull to be published in all the churches of his province, and convened a synod of his suffragans at St. Paul's in London; but Edward issued a writ, inhibiting them from enacting any constitution to the prejudice of the king, his ministers, or faithful subjects: they were, in a particular manner, forbid to publish the sentence of excommunication against any person on pain of imprisonment; and Ither de Engoulesme archdeacon of Bath, appealed, in the king's name, to the pope

pope against their proceedings; an expedient which effectually suspended their operations. Finding themselves cut off from all remedy but that which they might expect from Rome, and seeing all their goods confiscated in a solemn manner by a parliament or convention of the nobility, they were obliged to sue for protections, which they did not obtain without large fines; then they were restored to the possession of their goods and chattels, and re-admitted to the benefit of the law.

A. C. 1297.
M. Westm.
Ch. G.
Thorn.
Walsing.

Even these compositions were not sufficient for the purposes of the king, who was pressed by his allies to cross the sea; but, as he could not put his army and auxiliaries in motion without considerable supplies in money, and saw no other way of raising it in his dominions, he seized and sold for his own use, great quantities of wool and leather, bought up by the merchants for exportation; and exacted two thousand quarters of corn, besides other provisions, from every county in the kingdom, for the subsistence of his troops in Gascony. Though he promised to reimburse the proprietors of the wool when he should find it convenient, these arbitrary measures excited an universal dissatisfaction over the whole country. Under Edward they produced complaints; but, in the reign of a less resolute prince, they would have been attended with rebellion: not that his barons were totally degenerated from the spirit of their fathers; he had occasion to perceive their fortitude and resolution at this very period. In order to execute his projects on the continent, he assembled a parliament at Salisbury, to regulate the proportion of troops which every baron should furnish for the expedition. His aim was to make a powerful diversion in Guienne by his subjects, while he himself should press the enemy on the side of Flanders: but he found his noblemen unwilling to serve in
any

The king is thwarted by the earls of Hereford and Norfolk.

A. C. 1297. any place where he did not command in person. Each individual excused himself from going abroad, though he did not refuse to contribute his proportion of men for the service. Edward, piqued at their excuses, threatened to give their lands to others who should be more obedient. These menaces gave great umbrage to the nobility: Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, great constable of the realm; and Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk, great mareschal, told him plainly they were ready to accompany his majesty, but would not serve except where he himself should be present. Edward, incensed at this declaration, exclaimed in a transport of anger, "By the eternal God! you shall either go or be hanged." The earl of Norfolk replied, in the same strain, "By the eternal God! I will neither go nor be hanged," and he and Hereford retired that same day from parliament, attended by a numerous body of armed men, who seemed to set his majesty at defiance. When they arrived in their own territories, they would not suffer the king's officers to collect the duties on wool or leather, or take any thing by way of purveyance: they even expelled those collectors from their lands, and prepared for an open insurrection.

Tyrrel.

Edward had seen such instances of union and perseverance among the barons in his father's reign, that he did not chuse to risk his glory and repose upon the issue of a war with his own subjects: besides, such a dispute at this juncture would have disabled him from prosecuting his revenge against Philip king of France, or complying with the earnest request of his ally the count of Flanders, who pressed him to cross the sea with all possible expedition; he therefore dissembled his resentment against the constable and mareschal, though he soon found an opportunity to deprive them of their offices. The king summoned his nobility, and all who possessed

twenty

twenty pounds a year in land, to rendezvous on the first day of July at London, with horse and arms, in order to accompany him to Flanders. Amongst others the earls of Hereford and Norfolk were required to appear by particular mandates. The constable came in person; but the earl of Norfolk excused himself on account of sickness, and sent John de Seagrave as his proxy. It was resolved in council, that a proclamation should be issued for mustering the forces next day at St. Paul's: though this was properly the business of the constable and the marshal, they refused to do their office; and the king bestowed their employments upon Thomas de Berkley and Geoffrey de Geyneville. The earls published a manifesto, justifying their conduct, and representing the grievances of the nation in the burden of taxes, the poverty of the subject, the intrenchment upon franchises, and the neglect of Magna Charta, as well as of the assize of the forest. Edward took the pains to answer this memorial; and, conscious of the influence of the clergy, reconciled himself to the archbishop of Canterbury, in an assembly of the nobility and people at Westminster. He excused the taxes laid upon them for the maintenance of wars, in which he had been unavoidably engaged for the advantage of his country, and the recovery of his own inheritance: he assured them, on the word of a king, that he would redress all their grievances on his return from abroad; but, in case he should die in that expedition, he conjured them to preserve their fidelity to his son Edward, whom he left under the care of archbishop Winchelsey and Reginald de Grey, whom he appointed regents of the realm in his absence. This metropolitan, and some of his suffragans, having undertaken to compromise the difference between his majesty and the discontented earls, proposed a conference at

A. C. 1297.

Edward reconciles himself to the archbishop of Canterbury.

A. C. 1297. Waltham, to which place the constable and marshal sent their deputies, alledging that they did not think it safe to appear in person. Safe-conducts were granted, but they still declined the interview. Edward found means to revenge himself partly on Hereford, by releasing Ralf de Monthermer, who had married Jane countess of Gloucester without the knowledge of the king her father. He had been imprisoned at Bristol for that offence, but now was set at liberty, and invested with the honour of Gloucester, that he might watch the motions of Hereford, and fall upon him at once, if ever he should presume to excite commotions on the Welsh Marches.

These precautions being taken, he embarked at Winchelsey for Flanders: and that very day the earls of Hereford and Norfolk appeared at the bar of the exchequer, accompanied by a great number of knights and bannerets; where after having complained of the subsidies lately granted, and the duty and price of wool, as intolerable grievances, forbade the barons to levy the eighth granted by the boroughs without the king's knowledge, and demanded redress of the other hardships under which the nation laboured. This eighth had been granted by the cities, boroughs, and towns of the royal demesne, without the concurrence of the earls, barons, knights, and community of the kingdom; and therefore the earls objected to it as a practice tending to the disherison of them and their heirs. The king being made acquainted with this remonstrance, declared, by proclamation, that the taxation of the eighth should not be drawn into a precedent; that though necessity had obliged him to seize upon the wool, for the common safety of the realm, he would refund the value to the proprietors; and he assured his people that such methods of raising money should not be practised for the future,

future. Had the sums so raised been employed for the defence or advantage of England, he might have been excused for such an act of despotism; but as they were immediately applied for the purposes of a foreign war, with which the interests of England ought to have had no connection, the king could not expect that his subjects would pay much regard to his declaration. The English had been harrassed, without intermission, since the beginning of his reign, in executing the projects of his ambition, from which they reaped nothing but disaster. The war with France was a gulph that swallowed up the lives and substance of the nation. He had, indeed, acquired glory in his conquest of Wales and Scotland; yet this was but an unsubstantial recompence for the blood and treasure he had lost in those two expeditions: nor was the reduction of those countries so complete, but that he had reason to expect continual revolts, insurrections, and incursions, which would expose the conquerors to perpetual alarms, danger, and expence. The Scots had already begun to make efforts for the recovery of their freedom. Earl Warenne, guardian of that kingdom, disliking the climate, had retired to the north of England; and a few Scots, who had fled to the mountains from the arms and sovereignty of Edward, took this opportunity to retrieve their independence. They were headed by William Wallace, the younger son of a gentleman who lived in the western part of the kingdom. He was a person of gigantic stature, incredible strength, and amazing intrepidity: his character was unblemished; his heart glowed with the sentiments of liberty; and all the virtues of heroism were united in his character. Such is the portrait of Wallace, drawn by the historians of his own country; whereas the English writers represent him as a robber and an outlaw. Nor is there any difficulty in recon-

A. C. 1297.

Walsing.
Rymer.Progress of
Wallace in
Scotland,

A. C. 1297.

ciling these accounts. Wallace thought he had a right to commit depredations upon the enemies of his country; and the English very naturally considered him as a rebel and a robber, who disturbed the established government, and attacked their possessions without immediate provocation. He was without question outlawed by the administration; and perhaps the greater part of those who at first attached themselves to his fortune, were people who had incurred the censures of the law, and fled from the execution of justice. His first exploits were confined to petty ravages, and occasional attacks upon the English officers and detached parties, in which he acquired such reputation, that in a little time his band was considerably augmented by those, who, like himself, were fired with the love of independence; as well as a good number of persons provoked by the insults and oppression they had sustained from Ormesby, the justiciary, who was a man of an arbitrary and imperious disposition. Wallace thus reinforced, formed a plan for surprising this minister at Scone, where he usually resided; and, though his person escaped with great difficulty, all his effects, together with the adjoining country, were left as a prey to the enemy, who being about this time joined by Sir William Douglas, began to grow important and formidable. The bishop of Carlisle, and some lords of the Marches, alarmed at this commotion, summoned Robert de Brus the younger, to come to that city and renew his oath to Edward; and he not only complied with the citation, but even wasted the lands of Douglas, in return to his own country of Carrick.

He defeats
the earl Wa-
renne, and
invades Eng-
land.

The king of England being informed of this insurrection, ordered the earl of Warrenne to raise the military force of the northern counties, and attack the Scots, who had by this time crossed the border,

border, and begun to ravage the country. Warenne being old and infirm, sent his grandson Henry de Piercy, and Robert de Clifford, with an army of forty thousand men, into Anandale, where they surpris'd the Scottish forces, who being inferior in number, capitulated, and promised to give hostages for their future fidelity. Richard de Lundy, upon this occasion, went over with his followers to the English army; and Robert de Brus, who had, notwithstanding his late oath at Carlisle, joined his countrymen with James Steward of Scotland, was among the number of those who submitted. Mean while the earl of Warenne, with another army, advanced into Scotland against William Wallace, who lay with his forces advantageously posted in the neighbourhood of Stirling, on the other side of the river Forth. Hugh Cressingham, the treasurer, a man of a proud, insolent, over-bearing temper, press'd the earl to pass the river and attack the enemy; and though Richard de Lundy offer'd to ford it with a detachment of horse and foot, and keep the Scots in play, until the rest of his army should have cross'd by a narrow bridge which was in their front, his proposal was reject'd; and the earl of Warenne, instigated by the sarcasms of the treasurer, order'd his troops to march along that wooden convenience. When Wallace perceiv'd about half the army pass'd, he quitted his post, and attack'd them with such fury that they were routed and cut in pieces. Hugh de Cressingham, and above five thousand English, were kill'd upon the spot, besides those who perished in the river; and Warenne retir'd with the remains of his army to Berwick. Thither he was follow'd by Wallace, and his colleague Andrew Murray, at whose approach he abandon'd the place, which they enter'd in triumph; though they could not reduce the castle. From thence they march'd to

A. C. 1297. Carlisle, which they in vain attempted to reduce; and then ravaged the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland for a whole month, without opposition. This was a very glorious campaign for Wallace, whom his followers had declared regent or guardian of the kingdom. He had, in the course of a few months, reduced almost all the castles and fortresses which the English held in Scotland; defeated their general, and invaded their country; from whence he returned laden with an immense booty, which dispelled the prospect of famine that threatened the people of Scotland from the neglect of agriculture.

Concessions
made in par-
liament by
young Ed-
ward.

The defeat at Stirling, and the rapidity of success with which Wallace proceeded, struck such a damp into the inhabitants of the northern counties, that there was a necessity for sending thither a reinforcement from the southern parts of the kingdom; but none of those who favoured the earls of Hereford and Norfolk chose to engage in this service. The archbishop of Canterbury, and other prelates, considering the danger to which the country was exposed from intestine divisions, at such a critical juncture, exhorted prince Edward to compromise the difference with Hereford and Norfolk: writs were issued for summoning these two noblemen particularly, together with eight lords of their party, and a number of prelates, to consider with the prince upon the present emergency of affairs; and afterwards a parliament was convened for confirming the two charters, agreeable to the king's promise in a late declaration. The earls accordingly appeared at London, attended by five hundred horse, and a great number of armed infantry; and not only insisted upon a confirmation of the two charters, as fundamental constitutions, but also procured a statute, enacting that no talliage or aid should be levied in the kingdom without the con-

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sent of parliament; that no merchandize should be seized for the future on any pretence whatsoever; that the new tax or toll upon wool should be remitted; and that a general pardon should be granted to the earls of Hereford and Norfolk, John de Ferrers, and all their adherents. In consideration of these indulgences, the nobility and clergy granted subsidies for the defence of the kingdom; and the earls agreed to march into Scotland, or cross the sea, to serve according to his majesty's direction. Edward confirmed and ratified these transactions, and sent orders to the earls and nobility in England, to meet in arms at York, on the twentieth day of January, that they might be ready to march into Scotland. He issued writs for convoking a parliament at the same time and place, summoned all the lords of the kingdom to appear personally at that meeting, on pain of being declared enemies to the public; and empowered the bishop of Carlisle to grant the king's peace to Robert de Brus, and all his followers who should be inclined to assist at this assembly.

A. C. 1297.

Hemingford.

Rymer.

Edward's expedition to the continent had been very unsuccessful. Philip had engaged the king of Castile and Arragon in his interest. The count de Bar, one of the allies of England, who invaded Champagne, was obliged to surrender at discretion to Jane, queen of France and Navarre. Adolphus of Nassau, and the duke of Austria, were debauched from Edward's interest, by the address and liberality of Philip; and their example was followed by the dukes of Brabant and Luxemburg, and the counts of Guelderland and Beaumont. Then the French king entering Flanders, at the head of sixty thousand men, invested Lisle; while Guy, unable to face him in the field, and depending entirely on the succours from England, employed the duke de Juliers to make a diversion in

Progress of
the war in
Flanders.

4. C. 1297. his favour. Against this general Philip detached the count D'Artois, who coming up with him in the neighbourhood of Furnes, a battle ensued, in which the duke of Juliers was defeated and slain. Guy was so distressed by this defeat, that he durst not stir from Ghent, where he waited for Edward with great impatience and perplexity, arising not only from the strength of his enemy, but also from the factions that divided his country, one half of which was in the French interest. At length the king of England arrived with a body of troops, not at all equal to the importance of the enterprize, and found the city of Bruges in such confusion, occasioned by the different parties, that it was with the utmost difficulty he could appease their animosity, by granting them some particular immunities in their trade with his subjects. The same divisions reigned in Ghent, which, while Edward endeavoured to compromise, the king of France made himself master of Lille, Douay, and several other towns in the neighbourhood. Then he marched to Bruges, which surrendered without resistance; and he formed a plan for burning the English fleet which lay at anchor at Damme: but his design taking air, they put to sea and avoided destruction. All the measures of Edward were broken by the perfidy of his allies. He had very little assistance to expect from the count of Flanders, the majority of whose subjects was in the interest of France: his own troops were too weak to oppose the progress of the enemy; and the new troubles in Scotland rendered his presence necessary in his own dominions. In this emergency, he had recourse to the good offices of the king of Sicily and the count of Savoy, who offered their mediation between him and Philip. Conferences were opened, and a truce concluded at Fismes in October, to be in force only for two months: but it was afterwards prolonged for

Edward
makes a
truce with
the French
king.

for two years, that the pope might have time to adjust the articles of a solid peace, which they agreed to accept upon the terms he should propose. This was accordingly effected in the month of June, when Boniface annulled the contract of marriage between prince Edward and Isabel, daughter of the count of Flanders; and decreed a double match between king Edward and Margaret of France, sister to Philip the fair, and between young Edward and Philip's daughter Isabel. The damages done before the commencement of the war were ordered to be repaired on both sides: and all the places possessed by the contending parties, in each other's territories, were sequestrated into the hands of the pope, until all differences should be finally adjusted between them and their respective allies, who were comprehended by name in the truce and treaty.

Rymer.

While this treaty was on the anvil, the English nobility met in parliament at York; but as the Scots, who were summoned to that assembly, did not attend, a rendezvous was appointed at Newcastle for the forces destined to invade Scotland. There they mustered two thousand men at arms, twelve hundred light horse, and an infinite number of infantry, with which they advanced to the relief of Roxburgh and Berwick, which were besieged by the Scots, who retired at their approach. It was now the middle of winter, so that they proceeded no further than Berwick, where they disbanded all their army but fifteen hundred chosen men, and about twenty thousand infantry, and resolved to wait the king's arrival. Edward landed in March at Sandwich, from whence repairing to London, he restored the franchises of that city. Then he issued commissions for enquiring into the grievances of his people; and gave orders for convoking a parliament at Carlisle, to which the Scot-

A. C. 1298.

He returns to Britain, and calls a parliament at Carlisle.

A. C. 1293. tish nobility were summoned, on pain of being declared traitors, and enemies to the public. If we may believe the historians of that country, Edward assembled a multitude of raw troops at his first arrival, and marched directly against Wallace, who had advanced as far as Yorkshire: that coming in sight of the Scottish army, and seeing the excellent order and good countenance with which they waited his attack, he thought proper to retire, without hazarding a battle, until he should have assembled an army on which he could have more dependence. The same writers likewise affirm, that the king sent a threatening letter to Wallace, in which he told him that he durst not have revolted in Scotland, much less invade England, if he himself had not been absent from his British dominions; and that the Scottish guardian replied, it was not so base to take the advantage of his absence, to deliver his country from servitude, as it was in Edward to foment divisions, of which he took the advantage to enslave a free people.

Defeats the
Scots at Fal-
kirk.

The Scottish nobility refusing to attend the parliament at Carlisle, Edward appointed the rendezvous of his army at Roxburgh; and in the mean time the earls of Hereford and Norfolk, still diffident of his sincerity, insisted upon his ratifying anew the charters of their liberties; nor would they proceed until the bishop of Durham, with the earls of Surrey, Warwick, and Gloucester, swore in the king's name, that they should have the satisfaction they demanded, at his return from this expedition. He was now fully determined to destroy the Scottish name and nation. He had assembled an army of ninety thousand men, and ordered his fleet to attend him in his march, to supply him with provisions, which he could not expect to find in such a barren country. He invaded Scotland by the west border, and had like to have suffered by the
detention

detention of his ships, which were prevented by contrary winds from coming up; so that he had marched three days into the country, and then advanced on the other side of the kingdom, with a view to be supplied by a second squadron, which he had directed to enter the frith of Forth, in case he should find it necessary to change his route. Wallace is said to have harrassed him in his march with a body of light troops; and to have obtained several advantages over detachments from the English army, which was by this time reinforced by the Gallovidians, and Robert de Brus, who envied the guardian's reputation, and seemed to think that he aspired at the crown. Almost all the noblemen of that country considered Wallace as an ambitious upstart, who had acquired a popularity dangerous and disgraceful to their interest and reputation. They looked upon his conduct as a reproach upon their pusillanimity; and all the men of interest and family were either his secret or professed enemies. In conjunction with James Stuart and John Cumin, he had assembled thirty thousand men, and encamped near Falkirk, by the wall of Antoninus. Thither Edward pursued his march, in order to bring them to a decisive engagement: and he found them already drawn up in three separate divisions, each forming a complete phalanx of pikemen, and the intervals lined with archers: their horse were placed in the rear, and their front was secured with palisadoes. Edward having observed the posture of the enemy, ordered the charge to be sounded. And this was answered by the Scots with such a hideous yell, that the king's horse, being frightened, threw his rider, and afterwards kicked him on the ribs as he lay on the ground: notwithstanding this accident he mounted again with his usual alacrity, and ordered the Welsh troops to begin the attack. These declining the service, he advanced

A. C. 1298. in person, at the head of another battalion, and the palifadoes being pulled up, charged the enemy with such impetuosity as they could not resist. Wallace seeing him advance, encouraged his men with a short speech, and resolved to sustain the attack on foot. He accordingly behaved with his usual courage, and his troops for some time followed his example: but, in the heat of the battle, the division commanded by Cumin quitted the field, in consequence of their leader's treachery, or a previous quarrel with the guardian about the post of honour; and his retreat leaving Stuart's command exposed, they were surrounded and cut in pieces to a man. Wallace still maintained the battle, till his pikemen, being galled by the English arrows, began to give way, and he found himself in danger of being surrounded: then he was obliged to relinquish the field; and, by the favour of the night, accomplished a retreat with the remains of his army, leaving a complete victory to Edward, and about twelve thousand of his countrymen dead on the spot; whereas the loss of the English did not amount to one hundred men.

The king immediately after this advantage, advanced to Perth and St. Andrew's, ravaging the country without opposition. Then turning back, he marched through the forest of Selkirk to Anandale, where he reduced the castle of Lochmaban; and from thence continued his route to Carlisle, where he summoned a parliament to regulate the affairs of Scotland. He had already granted the isle of Arran to Thomas Biset, who had come over with a body of troops from Ireland to his assistance: and at this assembly he gave away, among his followers, the estates belonging to those Scottish noblemen who continued in rebellion: but before the meeting of the parliament, the earls of Hereford and Norfolk, dissatisfied with some circumstances of

of Edward's behaviour, asked leave, on pretence of fatigue, to return to their respective estates; and the constable died on the last day of the year. When the session broke up at Carlisle, the king repaired to Durham; and hearing the Scots were beginning to re-assemble their shattered forces, he passed the Christmas holidays at Tinmouth. Then he proceeded for London, where he held a parliament, in which the pope's award was read and unanimously approved. The two charters were confirmed, together with some other articles relating to the disforesting of certain lands; which he passed, with a salvo, however, to the rights of his crown. At this period two friars arrived from France; and demanded, in Philip's name, the release of John Baliol, who, since his resignation, had been kept prisoner in the Tower of London. The French king comprehended him in the number of his allies, and demanded his enlargement by virtue of the late treaty, in which it was stipulated, that the allies of each prince should have the benefit of the pacification. Edward alledged that Baliol was his vassal, who had formerly renounced his engagement with France, consequently could not be considered as one of Philip's allies. The French agents replied, that the counts of Flanders and Bar, though vassals of the crown of France, had been specified in the treaties; and that the renunciation of Baliol was the effect of compulsion. While this affair was spun out into a negotiation, that contemptible prince was influenced to declare, in presence of the bishop of Durham, constable of the Tower, and a public notary, that he had found so much malice, fraud, treachery, and deceit, in the Scots, while he sat upon their throne, that for the future he would never have the least concern with that kingdom or people. Nevertheless the dispute was left to the decision of the pope, and

A. C. 1298.

A. C. 1299.

M. West:

Baliol is delivered to the pope's nuncio.

Rymer.

John

A. C. 1299. John was put into the hands of Boniface's nuncio, at Whitford, near Calais, on the express conditions that his holiness was at liberty to decide as he should think proper, touching the person and English estate of the prisoner; but that he should not intermeddle in the affairs of Scotland, which Edward wholly reserved for his own cognizance.

A general
revolt in
Scotland.

The Scots began to breathe after their late disaster. Wallace perceiving how much he was envied by the nobility, and knowing how prejudicial that envy would prove to the interest of his country, had resigned the regency of the kingdom, and humbled himself into a private station; in which, however, he continued to take all opportunities of annoying the English, at the head of a small body of friends, who would not forsake him in adversity. The rest of the Scots, who wished to deliver themselves from the yoke of Edward, pitched upon Cumin to supply his room; and that nobleman endeavoured to approve himself worthy of this pre-eminence. Understanding that a treaty was on the carpet between France and England at Montreuil, under the arbitration of the pope, he sent deputies to Philip, desiring that the Scots might be comprehended in the pacification. The conjuncture was favourable for them, because Edward was impatient to recover Guienne: but all that the French king could obtain was a truce for seven months, in favour of the Scottish malcontents. This was so ill observed by the English, and the people of that country were oppressed and insulted in such a manner, that they were animated by despair, and seemed ready to perish in an attempt to recover their freedom. This spirit was carefully cherished by Cumin, who represented to the barons of his party, that unless they should take some immediate measures for their own preservation, the king of England would reduce them to the most wretched state

state of slavery ; and that they still had it in their power to shake off his yoke, by one generous effort during the winter, when their country was in a manner inaccessible to the forces of England. His remonstrance produced the desired effect. They unanimoſly reſolved to take arms, and withdrew to their ſeveral habitations, in order to prepare for a general revolt. Their deſign was communicated to all the cities and boroughs in the kingdom, who joined in the conſpiracy ; and, at the appointed time, the whole nation roſe as one man againſt the Engliſh gariſons. Theſe, unable to withſtand the rage and enthuſiaſm of a deſperate people, capitulated for their lives, and were permitted to leave the kingdom ; and in a few days all the Engliſh were expelled, except thoſe that occupied ſome few of the ſtrongeſt fortiſſes, which the Scots were in no condition to beſiege.

Edward, who had juſt conſummated his nuptials with Margaret of France, in conſequence of the treaty, no ſooner heard of theſe commotions, than he iſſued orders for aſſembling the troops of the northern counties, and ſummoned a parliament at York, to meet in November, where he underſtood that the caſtle of Stirling was reduced to extremity. He reſolved forthwith to march to the relief of that fortiſſ ; but, when he had proceeded as far as Berwick, the nobility reſuſed to ſerve in the expedition, alledging that the roads of Scotland were unpaſſable in that ſeaſon of the year. Thus hampered, he was obliged to deſiſt from the enterprize, and allow the gariſon to make the beſt capitulation they could obtain. He reſolved, however, to make ſuch preparation for invading Scotland in the ſummer, as would ſave him the trouble of a winter campaign for the future. Mean while, he in this parliament confirmed the two charters, and the ſheriffs over all

The king holds a parliament at York.

Heminford.
Rymer.

A. C. 1299. courts every quarter. It was enacted that three knights should be chosen by the freeholders in every county-court, to enforce the execution of these charters, and punish transgressors in a summary way, without the tedious forms of the common law. The statute of Winton was likewise confirmed; and a new law made, under the title of *Articuli super Chartas*, enacting that no goods or merchandize should be taken without payment, by the king's order, except such as might be necessary for his household or wardrobe. This statute likewise contained some regulations with regard to trespasses, contracts, debts of pleas within the verge of the court; and provided redress against false entries, seizures, and waste, committed by escheators. Writs were issued for finishing the perambulations of the forests, that their bounds might be ascertained for ever; and all the adulterated pennies, of which a vast number had been imported into the kingdom, were cried down by proclamation.

Walving.
M. West.

The Scots
again rout-
ed; they
put them-
selves under
the protec-
tion of the
pope.

A. C. 1300.

The king having taken these measures for the benefit of his subjects, began to prepare for the final destruction of Scotland; and assembling a numerous army, took the field about Midsummer. As soon as he entered Galloway, he received a proposal from the Scottish nobility, importing that they would lay down their arms, and submit, on condition that he would set their king at liberty, and allow them to ransom their estates, which he had given away; otherwise they would defend themselves to the last extremity. Their requests being rejected with disdain, they assembled a great number of men, without arms or discipline, in hope of finding some opportunity to surprize him in his march; but he proceeded with such circumspection as baffled all their endeavours; and pursued them so closely that they were at last obliged to stand a battle, in which they were immediately routed,

though

though not with great slaughter; for they fled into fastnesses, through which they could not be pursued by heavy-armed troops, unacquainted with the situation of the country. The hopes they had reposed in their own valour being utterly blasted by this overthrow, they sent ambassadors to implore the protection of pope Boniface, and offer him the sovereignty of the kingdom. That ambitious pontiff embraced the proposal without hesitation, and ordering a bull to be expedited on the subject, sent it immediately with a letter to archbishop Winchelsey, directing him to deliver it into the hands of Edward without delay. The prelate no sooner received this mandate of his holiness, than he set out in person for Galloway, and found his majesty in the abbey of Dufques, where he received the papal claim with equal surprize and indignation. The bull contained a great number of arguments to invalidate the pretensions of Edward to the sovereignty of Scotland; reproached him with the cruelties he had committed in the prosecution of the war against that unfortunate country; and, in particular, with his having imprisoned divers bishops still in confinement: it constituted the pope as the proper judge of the difference between the English and Scottish nations; and ordered the king to send ambassadors to Rome with proper instructions, within the term of six months; at the expiration of which he would pronounce a definitive sentence. Shocked, as a prince of Edward's haughty disposition must have been at this insolent address, he knew his interest too well to engage in a quarrel with the pope, at a time when Guienne was sequestred in the hands of that pontiff. Indeed, when he first perused the contents, he swore, in a transport of anger, that if the pope persisted in such pretensions, he would destroy Scotland from sea to sea; and the Scottish deputies, who were present, could not hear such a menace without

A. C. 1300. without emotion. They told him he would find that work more difficult than he imagined; for there was not a Scot in the kingdom who would not spend the last drop of his blood in defence of his country. This declaration was not a little extraordinary, considering the perfidy with which they had betrayed one another since the beginning of the war. The king's indignation gave way to his policy. He amused the archbishop with a general answer, implying, that as it was an affair which concerned the rights of the English crown, he could not make a proper reply until he should have consulted his parliament; but, as a proof of his regard for his holiness, he ordered the bishop of Glasgow to be set at liberty; returned to England, where he disbanded his forces; and at the request of the French king, consented to a truce with the Scots until Whitsuntide of the ensuing year.

The barons assembled in parliament write a letter to Boniface.

A. C. 1301. That Edward was extremely alarmed by this extravagant demand of Boniface, appears from the pains he took to invalidate his pretensions. He convoked a parliament at Lincoln in the beginning of the year, to consult with them upon this extraordinary affair, and deliberate upon a proper answer to his holiness. After some debates, it was resolved that a letter should be written to the pope, in the name of the barons of England, to this effect: that the crown of England had always enjoyed the right of sovereignty over Scotland; and it was notoriously known, that Scotland had never depended, with respect to temporals, on the see of Rome: that the parliament would never suffer the king to put his right in litigation, or to send ambassadors to Rome on this subject, even if he should be inclined to exhibit such proofs of complaisance to his holiness; they therefore desired he would not attempt to disturb the king or kingdom, in the enjoyment of their prerogatives. This letter, subscribed by

one

one hundred barons, was followed by another from the king himself, accompanied with an abstract, like that which had been read in the assembly at Northam, to prove that the kingdom of Scotland had always been dependent upon the English crown. But with this difference; that whereas the first deduced the pretended right from Edward the Ancient, this writing traced it back to Brutus, the first fabulous king of Albion; and brought it down through all the fictitious reigns recorded in the romance composed by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Though these antique fables could have no effect upon the natives of Scotland, he hoped they might make a favourable impression upon the pope and his Italians, who were not so well versed in the history of Britain. Edward's letter was couched in very respectful terms; so that his holiness could not take exceptions to one expression: an instance of moderation which could hardly have appeared upon such an occasion, had not the king of England been at the mercy of the pope, with regard to the restitution of Guienne. Nevertheless, he took care to protest that he did not mean this as an appeal in a judicial form, but wrote the detail merely with a view to inform the pope's conscience.

A. C. 1301.

Clauſ. 25.
Edw. I.

The limits
of the forests
are aſcer-
tained.

This affair was not more interesting to the king, than another which now came upon the carpet, was of consequence to the people. The perambulations of the forests had been made in every county of England by the king's commissioners; all exceptions were discussed and answered, and the inquests and returns being read and approved in this parliament, the king confirmed them by his letters-patent, declaring that the lands disforested by those perambulations should continue so for ever, and the limits now fixed to all the forests remain for ever unaltered and invariable. The laity were so well satisfied with this decision, which put a stop to in-

A. C. 1301. finite litigation and oppression, that they voted a subsidy of a fifteenth for the expence of the Scottish war; but archbishop Winchelsey, at the head of the clergy, refused to grant an aid without the pope's licence. This prelate, like almost all his predecessors, was a desperate bigot in every thing that related to the pope's usurped authority. He had excommunicated the king's officers, particularly the warden of the Cinque-Ports, for exercising his right of judicature: he had denounced the same sentence against seventeen monks of St. Augustine, and even imprisoned them because they insisted on their privilèges: he arrogated to his own courts the cognizance of lay-fees; and invaded on all occasions the rights of the crown, and secular jurisdiction; so that the king was continually employed in issuing writs to stop his proceedings. Upon his refusal to grant the present subsidy, Edward made application to the pope, in such a manner that he obtained a tenth, for three years, of all ecclesiastical revenues, on condition of its being divided between the king and his holiness. The business of the parliament being finished, the king created his son Edward prince of Wales and earl of Chester; and began to make preparations for prosecuting the war in Scotland: but as the manner of raising the aids was too slow for the emergencies of the service, he extorted a loan from the trading towns, and compelled the people to pay their rents before they became due, that he might seize this subsidy by anticipation.

Rot. Peram.
Foreit.
Prynne.
Rymer.

Truce with
the king of
France, in
which the
Scots are
included.

The truce with Scotland expiring at Midsummer, the king sent his son Edward into that country with a strong body of forces, and he himself followed with another army. The Scots being in no condition to hazard a battle, retired to their woods and fastnesses, from whence they made sudden excursions, and sometimes had the good fortune to cut
off

off detached parties of the English, and intercept some convoys of provision. The campaign was spent in these skirmishes, and the reduction of a few inconsiderable castles; and Edward proposed to pass the winter at Linlithgow; but hearing that a truce was concluded between the French and English plenipotentiaries at Amieres, to remain in force till November of the following year; and that John Baliol and his subjects were included as the allies of Philip, he returned to England and ratified the articles, after having protested against them before a public notary. This truce was signified to the governor, prelates, and nobility of Scotland, who joyfully assented to the stipulation, which was confirmed and ratified by Baliol himself. Edward, however, had privately agreed with the king of France to give up the Scots at the expiration of this truce, in consideration of his sacrificing his own ally the count of Flanders; and, in confidence of this agreement, he carried on his preparations for completing the conquest of Scotland. An aid had been granted by parliament for the marriage of his eldest daughter, in the eighth year of his reign, and afterwards suspended. In a short session held at London, it was now agreed that this aid should be levied for the king's service. The barons of the Cinque-Ports were ordered to equip five and twenty stout ships, well furnished with men, provisions, and ammunition, to rendezvous by Lady-day at Newcastle; and Richard de Burgh, earl of Leicester, with the nobility, and military tenants of Ireland, were summoned to assist him with their forces in his intended expedition.

Prynne;

Mean while the truce with France was renewed, and afterwards prolonged; though the Scots did not enjoy the benefit of this prolongation, which was transacted without the pope's interposition or concurrence. A quarrel had broke out between

A treaty concluded between Edward and Philip.

A. C. 1302.

Boniface and the French king; and Philip would not admit of his mediation, because he could no longer be considered as an indifferent person. He saw no method so likely to prevent the dangerous consequences of papal censure, as that of compromising all differences with England: a step which was now the more necessary, as the Flemings had rebelled, and even freed themselves, in a great measure, from the Gallic yoke. They had cut in pieces four thousand French troops quartered at Bruges, defeated the count of Artois at Courtray, in a pitched battle, and recovered all the towns and fortresses of Flanders, except Dendermond. Philip had marched against them in person without success; and he saw no prospect of reducing them to obedience, while they should be supported by England, with which they carried on an advantageous commerce. He therefore expressed a desire of engaging in a league of friendship with Edward: plenipotentiaries were appointed on both sides; and in a little time peace was concluded at Paris, on condition that the territories seized by either party should be restored; and satisfaction be made for captures: that the hostages of Guienne, and the prisoners on both sides, should be released without ransom. A treaty of free commerce, and a league offensive and defensive, was established: the pope's award for a marriage between the prince of Wales and Isabel of France was confirmed; and the count of Savoy, and the earl of Lincoln, as Edward's proxies, espoused the young princess with great solemnity. This last nobleman took an oath of fealty to Edward, in the king's name, for Guienne; and it was agreed that Edward should do homage in person at Amiens, where the two kings proposed to have an interview in September.

Symon.

While these affairs were in agitation, Edward sent Seagrave with an army into Scotland, rather to ruin
the

the country than fight the natives, whom he imagined were in no condition to make the least resistance. This general divided his forces into three bodies, that marched at the distance of some miles from one another; and, as he expected no opposition, he proceeded in the most careless security, till he reached Roslin, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. There he was attacked unexpectedly by the Scottish army, under the command of Cumin and Frazer, who routed his first division, and took him prisoner. The next advanced to the relief of their general; and, as it equalled the Scots in number, charged them with great impetuosity, which, however, the enemy sustained; and, after an obstinate engagement, the Scots again proved victorious. When they had just finished the action, in which they suffered considerable damage, and a great part of their army was exhausted with fatigue and loss of blood, the third division of the English appeared, advancing at a round pace, to retrieve the honour which their countrymen had lost; and, as their number was considerably augmented by those who escaped from the two former engagements, they approached in full confidence of victory. The Scots, dismayed at their appearance, would have betaken themselves to flight, had not they been restrained by the remonstrances of their leaders, who exhorted them to make one effort more to augment the glory they had won, and preserve the spoils they had gathered. Thus animated, they supplied themselves with the arms of the vanquished, and mounting the horses they had taken, stood the shock of another battle, which they gained with great difficulty. The Scottish historians may be allowed to plume themselves upon this triple victory, considering how often their countrymen, even by their own accounts, were defeated by the English during the reign of Edward. This disaster being reported to the king, he summoned

A. C. 1302.
Seagrave is
defeated by
the Scots at
Roslin.

Buchanan;

A. C. 1303.

A. C. 1303. moned all his military tenants, and appointed the rendezvous of his army at Roxburgh. There he mustered an incredible number of forces, with which he entered Scotland: but he had scarce crossed the border, when he received the unwelcome tidings of his treasury's being robbed to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, in money, plate, and jewels. The treasure was kept in Westminster-abbey; and the monks were suspected of the robbery. It appeared from the inquisition that they were seen, on the very night in which it was carried off, passing to and from the neighbourhood of the treasury, with bundles and hampers, which they conveyed by water. Part of the plate and jewels was afterwards found in London and other places; and the abbot was imprisoned, together with fifty monks and thirty lay brothers.

The treasury
robbed.

Edward
marches to
the extremi-
ty of Scot-
land.

Edward, who entered Scotland about Whitsuntide, advanced to Edinburgh without having met with any considerable opposition. A party of the Scots still kept the field under Wallace, and the castle of Stirling had been taken by Cumin. Edward would not, however, stay to invest that fortress; because he wanted to penetrate into the northern shires, in order to cut off the communication between the different parts of the country, and prevent the enemy from joining their forces. He did not expect to meet with any resistance in this progress; but he was mistaken. The castle of Brechin, commanded by Thomas Maule, refused to surrender; and he was obliged to undertake a regular siege, and ply all his engines for twenty days without success. The governor seemed to make light of his endeavours, and even provoked him by exhibiting some marks of contempt, which, however, cost him his life; for, as he wiped the wall with his handkerchief, in derision of Edward's batteries, he was killed by a stone from one of these

these engines ; and his death produced such a consternation in the garrison, that they surrendered at discretion. The king would have found it impracticable to prosecute his march in this barren and desolate country, had not he been supplied from his fleet, which attended him upon the coast : but, thus provided, he continued his route to the castle of Urquhart, commanded by Alexander Wood, who stood an assault, and was put to the sword with his whole garrison. He found no further opposition in his progress to the northern extremity of Scotland, from whence he returned to Dumfermling, and summoned William Oliphant to surrender the castle of Stirling, which he had before so gallantly defended. That officer refusing to submit, the king resolved to besiege the place in form, as soon the weather would permit ; and, during the winter, prepared his military engines for reducing that important fortress. In the beginning of May, he appeared before the castle, and carried on his operations with his usual impetuosity : but, notwithstanding all his efforts, the garrison, consisting of three hundred men, defended it to the latter end of July, when the ditches being filled up, a considerable breach effected, and the English army ready to give the assault, the governor, with about one hundred and forty of his people that were left, desired a capitulation, which, however, they could not obtain. They surrendered at discretion, and Oliphant was sent prisoner to London.

A. C. 1303.

A. C. 1304.

M. Westm.
Heming.The Scots
sue for peace

After the reduction of this fortress, the Scots despairing of assistance from the king of France, who had abandoned their interest, were fain to renew their submission to the conqueror ; and Edward having found the bad effects of driving them to despair, thought proper to abate of his former severity. Cumin the guardian sent deputies to sue for peace and pardon ; and after some conferences,

A. C. 1304. it was agreed that he and his friends should be pardoned, upon their payment of a ransom or fine to be imposed in this next parliament, when the affairs of Scotland should be regulated; that all the strong holds should remain in the hands of the king; and that the prisoners on both sides should be released. Several persons who had been active in the revolt against Edward, were excluded nominally from the benefit of this pardon, except upon certain hard conditions; and it was expressly stipulated that Wallace should have no terms, but submit entirely to the mercy of the king. By this agreement, which was signed at Strathorde, the Scottish agents at Paris were allowed sufficient time to return, and make their submission: John Cumin and his adherents did homage and swore fealty at Dumfermling to Edward, who having subdued all opposition in Scotland, ordered the justices of his bench, with the courts of exchequer and chancery, to be removed from York to Westminster, while he himself sat out for England; and making a progress through the northern counties, repaired to Lincoln, where he passed the Christmas holidays.

Ryley.

A. C. 1305.

Writ of
Trayle-baf-
ton; the af-
fairs of Scot-
land are re-
gulated by
commif-
fioners.

During the king's absence, England had been exposed to numberless disorders, arising from the licence of the time, and a defect in the civil polity of the kingdom. In the western counties, bordering upon Wales, robberies, murders, and other outrages, were daily committed with impunity; for the perpetrators of those enormities were so numerous and formidable, as to set the officers of justice at defiance. In order to put a stop to such outrages, the king called a parliament at Westminster, where commissioners of inquest were issued to the justices to examine into those excesses; to try the authors by juries, in a summary way, and bring them immediately to condign punishment. In consequence of these powers, known by the

name

name of writs of Trayle-baston, a great number of malefactors was put to death; many were punished with severe fines, and the rest fled the kingdom. By this time Edward had changed his plan of behaviour to the natives of Scotland. Instead of that contempt and severity with which he had treated them hitherto, he now adopted a more complaisant demeanour, which was the effect of true policy. He not only allowed them to ransom their lands, but resolved to attach their chief noblemen and prelates to his interest, by offices of kindness. Robert de Brus earl of Carrick, and son to the competitor, dying at this period, his son of the same name had livery of his lands upon doing homage to the king of England, who bestowed particular marks of favour upon him and two of his countrymen; namely, John Mowbray and the bishop of Glasgow; though all three had violently opposed him in the last insurrection. He now desired them to consider of a proper time and place for convening a parliament, that should regulate the civil government of Scotland; and, in pursuance of their advice, ten deputies were appointed to come and treat with the English commissioners, at a parliament summoned to meet in September for that purpose. There it was agreed that eight justices should be constituted to regulate the affairs of the nation. John de Bretagne, the king's nephew, was created guardian of the realm; and William de Bevercotes, and John de Sandale, both clergymen, were continued in the posts of chancellor and chamberlain of the kingdom. It was resolved that the laws and usages of the Scots should be abolished; and that a parliament should be assembled in Scotland, under the eye of the guardian, to consider the laws of king David, and the amendments which had been made in them by his successors; that without consulting the king they

A. C. 1305.

Rymer.
Ryley.

A. C. 1305. they should alter and reform all such laws and customs as should appear inconsistent with religion and reason; and that those articles in which his interposition might be necessary, should be ingrossed in writing, and sent by deputies from the states of Scotland to the parliament of England, where they should be examined and discussed, with the concurrence of those deputies empowered for that purpose by their constituents. At the close of the session, Edward published an act of indemnity in favour of the Scots who had submitted: yet this was clogged with certain restrictions, that bore hard upon some individuals; and Bruce was obliged to surrender the strong castle of Kildrummy. The king was jealous of this earl's talents and influence; and for that reason took care that he should not be included in the list of commissioners. All the Scottish prelates and nobility then at London, together with the deputies, took an oath to observe these regulations; but the earl of Carrick had been sent to Scotland in order to assist at the convention which nominated the deputies of that kingdom. There his ambition was stimulated, by resentment of the wrong he had sustained in the loss of his castle; and he began to form that plan which he afterwards executed with incredible fortitude and perseverance.

Rymer.

Wallace is taken and executed as a traitor.

In all probability he would have associated Wallace in his councils, had not that truly great man been delivered into the hands of the English by Sir John Monteith, Edward's Scottish favourite, and governor of the castle of Dunbarton. The Scottish writers alledge that he was betrayed in the most perfidious manner, and apprehended as he lay asleep in the neighbourhood of Glasgow. But although he was surpris'd by a party under the command of Monteith, he cannot be justly said to have been betrayed, as that officer was a professed adherent of king Edward. This renowned prisoner

was



Walker sculp.

WILLIAM WALLACE.



was immediately conveyed to London, in the midst of infinite crouds of people, assembled to see the man whose name had filled the whole country with terror. On the very next day he was brought to his trial at Westminster-hall, where he was placed upon a high chair, and crowned with laurel in derision. Being accused of treason, he pleaded not guilty, and refused to own the jurisdiction of the court; affirming it was equally unjust and absurd to charge him with treason against a prince whose sovereignty he had never acknowledged; and that as he was a free-born native of an independent nation, he could not be deemed subject to the laws of England. The judges over-ruled his plea; and upon the maxim of Edward's being the immediate sovereign of Scotland, found him guilty of high treason. He was condemned to die the death of a traitor; and the sentence being executed with all the circumstances of barbarity, his head and quarters were exposed in the chief cities of England. This was a mean triumph in Edward over a man of whose reputation he was envious. The English historians represent Wallace as a ruffian, who had committed the most shocking cruelties upon women and infants, in the course of his expeditions. The Scots extol him as an unblemished hero. Had he been really guilty of such barbarities, it would have been much more for the reputation of Edward to try him on account of those crimes, than to convict him upon an impeachment which has left an indelible stain upon his own memory. Edward was a prince of great courage and abilities; but there was nothing liberal in his disposition. He had seen repeated proofs of this man's invincible prowess and patriotism; he had made repeated efforts to corrupt his integrity; he must have admired his character when he sacrificed him to his jealousy and

Ryley.

A. C. 1305.

A. C. 1305. and revenge. Edward condemned him as a traitor; Henry II. would have revered him as an hero.

Robert de Brus aspires to the crown of Scotland.

Robert de Brus, father to the present earl of Carrick, had always considered Wallace as an ambitious upstart, who aspired to the crown of Scotland; and in this opinion persecuted him with unceasing hatred, until they had an occasional conference immediately after the battle of Falkirk. Bruce was then in the service of Edward, and at the head of a strong detachment endeavoured to cut off the retreat of the Scottish regent: but finding himself baffled by the conduct of Wallace, who by this time had passed the river Carron, he called aloud to him, and upbraided him with his supposed attempt upon the sovereignty of his country. The regent, from the other bank, made such a reply as the integrity of his own heart suggested, and in his turn reproached Bruce with his servile adherence to the implacable enemy of Scotland, who had already destroyed the independency of that crown, which it was the duty of Bruce in a peculiar manner to defend. His words made a deep impression on the mind of Robert, who was never afterwards hearty in Edward's interest; and he communicated such a favourable idea of Wallace to his son, that this nobleman would undoubtedly have had recourse to his advice and assistance, had not his design been anticipated by the unworthy fate of that unshaken patriot. Thus disappointed, he cast his eyes on Cumin, who had succeeded Wallace in the regency. He was a young nobleman of great power and interest; and Baliol, to whom he was related, having abdicated the throne, he succeeded as competitor with Bruce for the sovereignty. The earl of Carrick, conscious of his own aspiring genius, which predominated over the fortune of his rival, found means to sound the inclinations of Cumin, and to establish

establish such an understanding between them, that a treaty was concluded and ratified by oath, and an indenture drawn, by which Cumin engaged to support Bruce with all his interest, in his attempts to ascend the throne. In consideration of which assistance, Bruce obliged himself to acknowledge Cumin as first prince of the blood, and bestow upon him all the private patrimony which he possessed as earl of Carrick. Cumin, either terrified at the dangerous confederacy in which he had engaged, or with a view to destroy his rival, and conciliate the favour of Edward at the same time, sent a transcript of his agreement with Bruce to the king of England, who received it just as the earl of Carrick arrived in London, to concert measures with some of the Scottish nobility who had come up to settle the affairs of their nation in the last parliament. Edward sent for him to court, and produced the indenture, which Bruce affirmed to be a forgery; and the king, who was a little staggered in his opinion, did not think proper to commit him to close custody; though he ordered him to be surrounded with spies, in such a manner that all his words and actions reached the knowledge of the king, who at last resolved to secure his person. Before he executed this resolution, Robert's brother-in-law, the earl of Gloucester, being apprized of the king's intention, sent a few pieces of money, and a pair of spurs, to the earl of Carrick, on pretence of restoring what he had borrowed. Bruce conceiving the meaning of these emblems, took horse immediately, and in seven days arrived at his own castle at Lochmaban, where he found some of his particular friends, to whom he communicated the treachery of Cumin. Hearing that nobleman was then at Dumfries, he went thither to expostulate with him upon his perfidy; and meeting him in the cloisters of a monastery belonging to the Greyfriars,

A. C. 1305. friars, reproached him in severe terms for his perfidious conduct. Cumin retorted his obloquy, and a virulent altercation ensuing, Bruce, in a transport of passion, plunged his poignard in the other's breast. After having committed this assassination, he retired and mounted his horse, when his attendants perceiving marks of confusion in his countenance, desired to know what had passed in the interview with Cumin. He then recounted the particulars of the conversation; and Sir Christopher Seton, who, though an Englishman, was one of his most zealous partisans, hearing the circumstance of Cumin's being wounded, "What! (said he) "have you left the work half done." So saying, he repaired to the cloisters, with some followers; and understanding the monks had removed Cumin into the church, that he might confess his sins and receive absolution, he advanced to the altar, which he stained with the blood of that unhappy nobleman, and a knight of the same name who came to his assistance. The behaviour of Bruce was savage; but that of Seton was altogether impious and inhuman. Bruce seeing all competition removed by the death of Cumin, began to take measures for ascending the Scottish throne, which had been vacant since the deposition of John Baliol; and to which Robert thought he acquired a new claim by the death of that unhappy prince, which happened in France about this period. He had long ago lost the affection and esteem of his subjects; and his son Edward, who remained a prisoner in England, was unheeded and unknown on the north side of the Tweed; so that his interest could not interfere with the projects of greatness formed by the earl of Carrick.

Stabs Cumin at Dumfries.

A. C. 1306.

M. West. Hemmingford.

The death of John Baliol.

Edward disoblige the nation by some unpopular measures,

While this aspiring young nobleman employed his extraordinary talents and extensive influence, in securing the suffrages of his countrymen for raising him

him to the sovereignty of Scotland, Edward's attention was engrossed by some unpopular measures, which might have been productive of very mischievous consequences. He was so jealous of his authority, that he never forgave any person who presumed to dispute his prerogative, or disobey his regulations. Nicholas Seagrave, one of the most accomplished knights of the age, being accused of some misdemeanour, appealed to the trial by single combat, which the king refusing, he challenged his accuser to meet him in another kingdom; and went abroad for that purpose. At his return he was apprehended by the king's order, and tried before the judges, who found him guilty of treason, and condemned him to death; though the sentence was qualified with a clause empowering the king to indulge him with a pardon. Edward was incensed at their presumption, in attempting to limit his prerogative, and reviled them in the most indecent terms: Seagrave, however, was pardoned and set at liberty, by the intercession of some noblemen, who undertook to be responsible for his future behaviour. The king was so punctual with respect to the observance of the laws, that he punished delinquents without respect of persons. His own son prince Edward, being influenced by his favourite Piers Gaveston, to insult the bishop of Chester, his father gave orders to commit him to the public prison, that he might learn to respect justice before he should become her vicegerent; or rather, that he might be deterred from revolting against the authority of his sovereign. All Edward's views were directed to the increase and establishment of his own grandeur; and all the salutary laws which he enacted, were either extorted by the clamours of his people, whom he would not venture to exasperate, or calculated for the purposes of his ambition. Boniface dying at this period,

A. C. 1306.

Act. Pub.

was succeeded by Clement V. a native of Bourdeaux, and creature of Edward, who solicited a dispensation of the oath he had taken to observe the two charters; and the new pope made no difficulty of absolving him from a promise which the king represented as the effects of compulsion. The English people were not a little alarmed at this dispensation, which seemed the prelude of arbitrary power; and Edward's subsequent conduct justified their apprehension. Finding the nation unwilling to grant such subsidies as he demanded to maintain the war, he had recourse to the assistance of the pope, who granted a tenth upon the clergy for three years, on condition that he himself should retain one half for his own occasions. This scandalous traffic gave such offence to the kingdom, that the parliament remonstrated against it, and even forbade the collectors to levy the imposition: but the king was resolved to be obeyed, and the collectors were commanded to proceed, on pain of his displeasure. These funds being insufficient to defray the expence of the war, he resolved to levy a scutage on pretence of his son's knighthood; and to render this tax the less unpalatable, he invited all the young gentlemen, who were ambitious of that honour, to come and be knighted with prince Edward at Westminster, where they should receive the robes suited to that dignity. At the same time he summoned a parliament, from which he demanded a supply; and received a thirtieth of the temporalities belonging to the clergy and lay-noblemen, knights, and commonalty, except the boroughs and towns of the king's demesnes, which were obliged to pay a twentieth of all their moveables. Such a number of young noblemen, and others, assembled in consequence of Edward's invitation, that the royal palace not sufficing for their accommodation, they were entertained in tents and pavilions

pavilions pitched in the garden of the New Temple. A. C. 1306.
 They afterwards kept their vigils in Westminster abbey with prince Edward, who was next day knighted by his father in the palace; and from thence repairing to the church of Westminster, conferred the same dignity at the high altar upon two hundred and fifty young noblemen, who being thus dubbed his companions, engaged to attend him in the expedition into Scotland, which the king could no longer defer with any regard to his own honour and advantage.

Mat. West.

Bruce, immediately after the murder of Cumin, surprised the castle of Dumfries, and apprehended the English judges, who sat in the great hall to hear and determine causes. Then traversing the country with a body of his vassals, he reduced a number of fortresses, and expelled the English from the kingdom. In a little time he was joined by a majority of the Scottish nation, who were glad of an opportunity to shake off the yoke of Edward, whom they detested; and at length he was crowned at Scone, by the hands of the countess of Buchan, sister to the earl of Fife, who was attached to the service of Edward. This was a privilege inherent in that family; and the countess claimed the honour of the function, which she performed in the presence of the bishops of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, Murray, and a good number of noblemen. Edward, apprized of these transactions, vowed revenge against the whole Scottish nation, which he resolved to enslave. He summoned his prelates, nobility, and all who held by knights service, to meet him at Carlisle, which was appointed as the general rendezvous; and constituted the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Litchfield, guardians of England during his absence. Mean while he detached a body of forces into Scotland, under the command of Aymer de Valence, Henry de Piercy, and Robert

Robert de Brus is defeated at Methuen.

Hemingford.

A. C. 1306. bert de Clifford, who advanced as far as Perth, where Robert de Brus challenged them to battle, which they thought proper to decline. After this bravado he encamped at Methuen, and his soldiers despising an enemy who durst not meet them in the field, began to enjoy their repose and refreshment in the most blind security, when the English attacked them in the evening so suddenly, that their leader had not time to draw them up in order of battle. Nevertheless, he made a gallant resistance, and was three times dismounted, and as often relieved by the bravery of Simon de Fraser. But at length his army being routed, he escaped with a few followers to Dalree, on the frontiers of Argyle: a good number of his troops fled to the mountains; but a great number of persons of distinction, were taken and executed on the spot as traitors.

Edward's
severity to
the Scots.

Immediately after this victory Edward entered Scotland, and divided his army into two separate bodies. One of these marched northward under the command of prince Edward, assisted by the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, and surprised the castle of Kildrummy, in which they found the wife and sister of Robert de Brus, with his brother Niel, and several persons of quality. His other two brothers, Thomas and Alexander, were afterwards taken in the castle of Locrian in Cantyre, from which Robert himself escaped with difficulty; and Edward met with no further resistance in his progress thro' Scotland. His anger was disappointed in the submission of the natives. He was ashamed to extirpate those who made no opposition; and the blood of his prisoners was not sufficient to assuage the thirst and fury of his indignation. The guardian and justices were directed to proclaim in the cities, boroughs, or market towns, that all who were concerned in the last rebellion against the king, should be pursued with hue and cry, until apprehended

A. C. 1306.

hended dead or alive; and that those who neglected to prosecute them in this manner, should forfeit their effects, and be imprisoned during his majesty's pleasure; that those concerned in the death of John Cumin should be put to death without mercy, as well as those by whom they were harboured and entertained: that those who acted against the king's peace should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; and that such as were pressed into the rebellion should be fined according to the judgment of the guardian. After having published these injunctions, under the seal of Scotland, Edward gave a loose to vengeance, and under the shadow of justice sacrificed his captives to revenge. The sister of Bruce, and countess of Buchan, were shut up in wooden cages, and hung over the battlements of different castles: the execution of private persons became so common that it was no longer regarded. The bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow were loaded with chains, and committed to dungeons. The wife of Bruce was sent captive into England, of which she was a native; the earl of Athole was hanged at London: this was likewise the fate of Simon de Fraser; Herbert Norham and Thomas Boyd were beheaded; Christopher de Seton was drawn, hanged, and quartered; and the two brothers of Bruce fell by the hands of the common executioner. Edward first compelled those unhappy people to take the oath of allegiance; then provoked them by oppression to renounce that engagement; and lastly punished them as traitors. He ought to have considered that pope Boniface had as good a right to release Bruce and his followers from the oath they had taken to Edward king of England, as pope Clement had to absolve Edward from the oath he had taken to his own subjects.

Rymer.

Edward having reduced Scotland to such an abject state of helpless misery, as he thought would

A parliament at Carlisle.

A. C. 1306. disabling the inhabitants from any future revolt; and taking it for granted that Robert de Brus had perished by famine or the sword, returned to Carlisle, where he summoned a parliament, to redress the grievances of monasteries and religious houses, which were burthened with talliages, tributes, and other impositions by the agents of the pope, on pretence of visitations contrary to the laws and customs of the kingdom. These exactions were condemned as injurious to the crown, and prejudicial to the country; and a letter was written to the pope, in the name of the clergy and laity, complaining of the practice of his ministers, and desiring his holiness to prevent such abuse for the future. Testa, the pope's chief agent, was summoned before the parliament, and forbid to levy any more money in his master's name. He was even ordered to keep what he had already collected, until the king should dispose of it by the advice of his council; and writs were issued to seize and imprison all such persons as he had employed in those and other extortions. These proceedings, however, were stopped at the intercession of the new legate Peter D'Espagne, whom his holiness had sent over to finish the marriage of the prince of Wales, which was retarded by a dispute about the castle of Mauleon in Gascony. This important fortress had been given by Philip to a certain knight, who now refused to cede it without an equivalent; and Edward would not allow his son to consummate the nuptials, until this castle and its territory should be restored. The prince of Wales was not displeased at this delay of a match that could not but interfere with the gratification of his passions. He had already exhibited signs of an idle, vicious, and dissolute disposition; and his excesses seemed to multiply as his years increased. He had been banished from court for insulting the bishop of Litchfield, and severely re-

primanded by his father for his profligacy and extravagance, so opposite to his own parsimony and love of order: but his irregularities becoming more and more intolerable, and Piers Gaveston being supposed to be the author of the evil counsel by which he was influenced, the king banished this favourite from the realm; and one hundred marks a year, to be payed out of the revenue of Guienne, were allowed for his subsistence.

A. C. 1307.

Piers Gaveston is banished

Hemingford.

During this session of parliament, Edward being informed of fresh commotions excited in the Highlands by Robert de Brus, who was still alive and indefatigable, prevailed upon the pope's legate to denounce the sentence of excommunication against him and all his abettors, and resolved to march in person in the spring to ferret him out of his lurking places. After the battle of Methuen, Bruce had retired with the wreck of his forces to the borders of Argyle, where he was again routed by the lord Lorn, a trusty adherent of Edward; and obliged to lurk in woods and caverns, attended by the earl of Lennox and Gilbert Hay, who would not abandon him in his distress. In this condition, he had no sustenance but that which he enjoyed in common with the beasts of the field, and the fowls of heaven; and he was hunted by his own countrymen from rock to rock, like an enemy to mankind. From this persecution he withdrew to a little island called Raughrine, where he lay concealed until the report of his death prevailed over all the neighbouring country; and though he was exposed to all the miseries of want, and all the inclemencies of weather, he never betrayed the least symptom of dejection, nor resigned the hope of being one day able to re-ascend the throne of Scotland, and vindicate the independence of his crown. When he heard that Edward had returned to Carlisle, he found means to make his friends acquainted with

The progress of Bruce in Scotland.

A. C. 1307. his being alive ; a small body of half-armed troops being assembled by Sir James Douglass, and Sir Robert Boyd, he came forth from his retreat, and putting himself at their head, attacked and cut off an English detachment which guarded a convoy of provisions. This was a very valuable acquisition, in a double respect ; for he not only required store of provisions, at a time when he wanted subsistence, but was enabled to arm his followers ; with whom, though they did not exceed four hundred, he took the castle of Turnberry, and obliged the lord Henry Piercy, who commanded in those parts, to retreat towards the borders of England. Edward was no sooner apprized of these exploits, which were performed in the severest season of the year, than he ordered the earl of Pembroke, and the lord Lorn, who had defeated Bruce in the preceding year, to take the field and crush him in the infancy of his good fortune ; and this order they executed with such industry and expedition, that Bruce found himself in danger of being surrounded on a mountain, where he must either have perished by famine or surrendered to his enemies, if he had not been able to accomplish an escape. Perceiving the Highlanders under lord Lorn taking a compass round the hill, in order to cut off his retreat, he harrangued his small body of troops, that did not yet amount to a thousand, and representing the inevitable destruction to which they must have been exposed by remaining in their entrenchments, he exhorted them to disperse into small parties, by which means they would vanish imperceptibly from their enemies ; and he desired they would meet him at a certain time in the wood of Glentroule, near Cumnock. Having received these directions, they seemed to melt away insensibly, and escaped by the help of the rocks and shrubs that sheltered them from the view of their adversaries, who were not
a little

A. C. 1307.

a little confounded at their disappointment, when they took possession of the hill, and found the intrenchments of Bruce entirely abandoned. The fugitive prince having re-assembled his friends at the place appointed, was joined by small reinforcements, which enabled him to maintain the footing he had gained. The earl of Pembroke following him from one retreat to another, he at last decoyed that nobleman into a disadvantageous situation, and fell upon him with such fury that the English troops were defeated. He afterwards attacked a detachment commanded by the earl of Gloucester, who, after an obstinate dispute, was obliged to take refuge in the castle of Aire, which Robert immediately invested. These achievements revived the drooping spirits of the Scots, who now flocked to his banner; so that in a little time his army was increased to ten thousand men, though they were generally unarmed, and utterly ignorant of discipline.

Mean while Edward remained at Carlisle, impatiently waiting for the troops he had summoned, in order to extirpate the Scottish name; and the first that assembled were sent immediately to relieve the earl of Gloucester. Bruce seeing the English advance, thought proper to raise the siege: but he could not retreat with such expedition but that he was attacked and routed; and obliged to fly for shelter to inaccessible fastnesses, where he remained till the death of Edward. The period of this great prince's life now approached. He was seized with a dysentery at Carlisle; and though the distemper was deemed extremely dangerous, he was inflamed with such a desire of wreaking his vengeance upon the enemy, that he began his march for Scotland, and proceeded as far as a place called Burgh on the Sands, where, finding nature almost exhausted, he gave directions that even after his death he should

Edward dies
at Burgh on
the Sands.

A. C. 1307. be carried into Scotland, as a sure presage of victory over a people whom he had always defeated. Then he regulated his spiritual concerns, and expired in the arms of his servants while they raised him up that he might take some nourishment. Thus died Edward I. king of England, on the seventh day of July, after having reigned four and thirty years with great reputation and success. He was a prince of a very dignified appearance; tall in stature, regular and comely in his features, with keen piercing black eyes; and of an aspect that commanded reverence and esteem. His constitution was robust; his strength and dexterity perhaps unequalled in his kingdom; and his shape was unblemished in all other respects but that of his legs, which are said to have been too long in proportion to his body; whence he derived the epithet of Long Shanks. In the qualities of the head he equalled the greatest monarchs who have sat on the English throne: he was cool, penetrating, sagacious, and circumspect. The remotest corners of the earth resounded with the fame of his courage: and all over Europe he was considered as the flower of chivalry. Nor was he less consummate in his legislative capacity than eminent for his military prowess. He may be stiled the English Justinian: for, besides the excellent statutes that were enacted in his reign, he new-modelled the administration of justice, so as to render it more sure and summary; he fixed proper bounds to the different courts of jurisdiction; settled a new and easy method of collecting the revenue, and established wise and effectual regulations for preserving peace and order among his subjects. Yet, with all these good qualities, he cherished a dangerous ambition, to which he did not scruple to sacrifice the good of his country: witness his ruinous war with Scotland, which drained the kingdom of men and money, and

Heming.
M. West.

and gave rise to that rancorous enmity which in the sequel proved so prejudicial to both nations. That he was arbitrary in his disposition appears in many instances, particularly that of seizing for his own use the merchandize of his subjects; a stretch of prerogative more suitable to the conduct of an eastern emperor than to that of an English monarch. The cruelty of his nature was manifest, in every expedition he undertook, either in Wales or Scotland. His integrity may be questioned from the nature of his transactions with the competitors of the Scottish crown; and the renunciation of the oath he had taken to his subjects. Though he is celebrated for his chastity and regular deportment, there is not, in the whole course of his reign, one instance of liberality or munificence. He had great abilities, but no genius; and was an accomplished warrior without the least spark of heroism*.

A. C. 1307.

* Edward, by his first wife Eleanor of Castile, had four sons and eleven daughters; namely, John, Henry, and Alphonso, who died young; and Edward who succeeded to the throne; Joan, who died an infant; Eleanor married to the count of Bar; a third, who died an infant in Palestine; Joan of Acres, first married to Gilbert earl of Gloucester, and afterward to Ralph de Monthermer; Margaret, matched with John II. duke of Brabant; Berengere and Alice, who died infants; Mary, a nun at Ambresbury; Eliza-

beth, married to John count of Holland, and afterwards to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford; Beatrix and Blanche, who died infants. By his second wife Margaret of France, Edward had two sons and a daughter: Thomas, born at Brotherton in Yorkshire, created earl of Norfolk, and afterwards marshal of England; Edmund, born at Woodstock, and created earl of Kent by his brother Edward; and Eleanor, who died in her childhood. Rymer. M. West. Chr. Dunmow.

E D W A R D II.

Surnamed of CAERNARVON.

A. C. 1307.
He succeeds
to the throne
and recalls
Gaveston.

THE glory of England seemed to set with Edward I. His son and successor, Edward of Caernarvon, neither inherited his talents, nor took the least pains to execute his designs, and follow his advice. Instead of prosecuting the war against Scotland, according to the injunctions he had received from his father, he took no effectual step to check the progress of Bruce; and his march into that country was rather a procession of pageantry than an expedition. After having been proclaimed at Carlisle, and received the oath of allegiance from the prelates and nobility of England, he repaired to Roxburgh and Dumfries, to receive the homage of the Scots; and seemed to be highly delighted with the ceremonies which attended the solemnity. Then advancing at the head of his army as far as Chimmock, he empowered Aymer earl of Pembroke to treat with the Scots concerning a pacification, and appointed him guardian of that kingdom; though that office was afterwards bestowed upon John de Bretagne, and the post of chamberlain was conferred upon Eustace de Cotisbache. Edward having made this ridiculous parade, returned to England, where, in direct opposition to the promise he had solemnly made to his father, he recalled his favourite Piers Gaveston, to whom he made a grant of the whole estate belonging to the late earl of Cornwall. Not content with having exhibited this extravagant mark of his favour and affection, he presented him with the sum of two and thirty thousand pounds, which the late king had reserved for the maintenance

Rymer.



EDWARD II.



nance of one hundred and forty knights, who had undertaken to carry his heart to Jerusalem; and indeed his attachment to this foreigner seemed to glow with all the ardor of a passionate admirer. Had Edward been a woman, such raptures would have been natural; for Gaveston possessed every personal accomplishment. Actuated by the counsels of this minion, he removed from their offices the chancellor, treasurer, judges, and barons of the exchequer, and filled their places with his creatures. Langton bishop of Litchfield was imprisoned, and the temporalities of his see were sequestered, until an enquiry could be made into his conduct and management as treasurer to the late king; while Piers Gaveston was appointed great chamberlain, secretary of state, and governed the whole kingdom as prime minister.

A parliament was summoned at Northampton, to regulate the late king's funeral, together with the marriage and coronation of the reigning prince, as well as to deliberate upon the state of the realm. A subsidy was granted to defray the expence of these articles; and it was enacted that the adulterated coin, which would not pass in the last reign, should now be current all over the kingdom. The body of Edward I. instead of being carried into Scotland, according to his dying request, was sent back to Waltham-abbey; from whence it was removed to Westminster-abbey, in which it was interred with great funeral solemnity. The king, as if he had not yet expressed his affection sufficiently for Gaveston, bestowed upon that favourite his own niece Margaret, sister of Gilbert earl of Gloucester; and, as he intended to set out for France, to consummate his nuptials with the princess Isabel, he appointed Gaveston guardian of the realm in his absence, with power to grant congés d'elire for ministers of cathedral and conventual churches; to take

A. C. 1307.

His nuptials
and coronation.

A. C. 1307. take the oath from prelates at their elections; to restore temporalities; dispose of prebendaries and benefices that were in the gift of the crown; and bestow wardships that might happen to fall while the king should be abroad. Such an important trust reposed in a foreigner, who was hated by the whole nation, could not fail to excite clamours and discontent among the nobility; but Edward, without paying any regard to their murmurs or dissatisfaction, crossed the sea to Boulogne, where he did homage to the king of France for Ponthieu and Guienne; and next day his nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. After having feasted some days with the kings of France, Navarre, Germany, and Sicily, who assisted at his marriage, he returned with his consort, and a train of French nobility; and the coronation was performed in Westminster-abbey, by the bishops of Sarum, Winchester, and Chichester, commissioned by archbishop Winchelsey, whose suspension was removed by the pope, at the intercession of Edward; though he was prevented by sickness from assisting personally at this solemnity.

His fondness
for Gaveston
increases.

The nation hoped that this marriage would have weaned the king from his affection to Gaveston, or at least divided his attention; but his love for that minion seemed daily to encrease. He bestowed upon him all the sumptuous presents he had received from his father-in-law; affected to call him brother; carested him as if he had been a mistress; and published a proclamation enjoining all persons to call him earl of Cornwall. Piers could not bear this favour with moderation: intoxicated with power, he became proud and insolent, and treated the English nobility with scorn and derision: the queen herself was not exempted from his ridicule and slights. He was so enamoured of his own qualities, that he payed no regard to those of other people.

people. He held tournaments, in which he was always victorious. He endeavoured not only to outshine the nobles of the land, but even to eclipse his sovereign; and appeared with such fastidious pomp at the coronation, carrying the imperial crown, that one of the barons could hardly be prevented from sacrificing him to his resentment. The nobility signified to the king that they would not attend at the ceremony until Gaveston should be banished the kingdom; but he prevailed upon them to alter that resolution, with a promise to grant their request in the next parliament. In the interval between the coronation and that assembly, Edward in vain tampered with individuals, in hope of making a strong party in favour of his darling; and miscarrying in all his attempts, began to fortify his towns and castles, as if he meant to set his subjects at defiance. The nobility followed his example; and every thing seemed to presage a civil war. At the parliament they appeared in arms, and renewed their instances for the banishment of Gaveston. Some persons of moderation dreading the prospect of national calamities, interposed their good offices to mediate an accommodation; but the barons still insisted upon the expulsion of Gaveston, though they consented to his enjoying his whole estate. They demanded that he should abjure the realm before Midsummer; and the bishops denounced him excommunicated, should he continue longer in the island. Edward was obliged, though with unspeakable reluctance, to give up the possession of his confident; but, in order to console him for his misfortune, he granted the honours of the High Pec, and Cockermouth, with several manours and castles, to him and his countess, and their heirs for ever. He likewise indulged him with the grant of a large estate in Gascony; and that his exile might sit as easy as possible upon him, he appointed

A. C. 1308.

The barons
insist upon
that favou-
rite's being
exiled.

A. C. 1309. appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland; assigned the whole revenue of that kingdom for his subsistence, and convoyed him in person to Bristol. As he foresaw that these steps would give umbrage to the barons, he employed all his industry in gaining over a majority to his interest, by caresses and acts of favour; and ordered, by proclamation, that none should appear armed in the ensuing parliament. The earls of Lincoln and Surrey, being mollified by the king's concessions and intreaties, desisted from the prosecution of Gaveston; and the whole association, except Guy earl of Warwick, laid aside their resentment.

He is recalled.

The pope, at Edward's desire, absolved his favourite of the oath he had taken to abjure the realm for ever; and suspended the sentence of excommunication which had been denounced against him by the bishops; though with this express proviso, that he should at his return stand to the judgment of the church with respect to those articles of which he was accused by the barons. The king solicited Clement to release him from this restriction; but his impatience being too keen to brook the delay of the pope's answer, he recalled Gaveston, and went as far as Chester to receive him in his return from Ireland. Then he expressed such transports at their meeting, that the people did not scruple to say he was bewitched; and conveyed him to Langley in Hertfordshire, where he enjoyed him for some time, without being interrupted by his queen or ministers. The barons being divided in their councils, were obliged to stifle their indignation at this shameful passion of Edward, who, at the next parliament assembled at Stamford, prevailed upon the nobility to consent that his paramour should remain in England without molestation. He was so well pleased with this instance of their condescension, that he squandered away great sums of money

Mon. Malm.
Rymer.
Leland.

money upon balls, tournaments, and other public diversions, in which Gaveston might have an opportunity to display his accomplishments: but none of the barons appeared at these rejoicings; and the lists being inclosed at Kenington for a tournament, the pillars were taken away, and the inclosure broken down in the night, by persons unknown. Gaveston, whom no lesson of adversity could improve, resumed all his insolence and prodigality; and with a view to secure a strong party in his favour, divested a great number of people of their places, and bestowed them upon his own adherents. By which means he entailed upon himself the implacable hatred of all those whom he had deprived of their employments, without adding to the strength of his own interest. This conduct revived the animosity of the whole nation: the nobles were shocked at his presumption; and the earl of Lancaster vowed revenge against him for some private injury he had sustained at his hands. He seemed to laugh at their dissatisfaction; expressed the utmost contempt for the resentment of his enemies; and the first noblemen of the kingdom became the subject of his sarcasms and ridicule.

A. C. 1309.

His insolence and pride.

M. West.
Mon. Malm,

The earls were more incensed at these personal indignities, than at any circumstance of his public administration. They renewed their consultations, and endeavoured to re-unite their party for his destruction. With this view they appointed several tournaments successively, that their partisans might have an opportunity to assemble; but all these meetings were prohibited by proclamation. The king convoked a parliament at York; but no business was transacted, because the earls did not assist at the session. Another was summoned to meet at the same place; and as they still declined appearing, on pretence of dreading Gaveston's treachery, he desired his favourite to withdraw, and adjourned the

The barons elect ordainers, to regulate the king's household, and the affairs of the nation.

the

A. C. 1310. the parliament to Westminster. Being apprehensive of some violence, he issued particular writs to the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, Pembroke, and Warwick, forbidding them to come armed to parliament; and the earls of Gloucester, Lincoln, Surrey, and Richmond, undertook for their safe-conduct. Nevertheless, the discontented noblemen and barons appeared with numerous retinues, and resolved to compel the king to redress the grievances of the nation. Edward, in order to supply the necessities of his household, had taken prise and purveyance, or, in other words, plundered the subjects of their merchandise, contrary to the express law which had been enacted in his father's reign; and this exertion of arbitrary power furnished the barons with a popular subject of complaint. They represented the damages sustained by the merchants whose effects had been seized: they expatiated upon the miseries of the kingdom, impoverished by the prodigality of the king, and harrassed by such oppressive measures: they drew a comparison between the flourishing state of the kingdom in his father's time, and the contemptible condition to which it was then reduced: they imputed this dishonourable change to want of œconomy and evil counsels; and insisted upon the king's empowering them to elect twelve persons authorized to make ordinances for regulating his household, and settling the affairs of the nation. At first he scrupled to comply with this demand; but, as they were determined to carry their point, and threatened to proceed to extremities, he thought proper to submit, and issued a commission empowering the prelates, earls, and barons, to chuse proper persons for making those ordinances. Yet the power of electing the ordainers was not vested in the whole parliament, but in eleven bishops, eight earls, and thirteen barons, who declared, in an authentic instrument, that this
grant

grant proceeded entirely from the king's own free will, and should not be drawn into a precedent to the prejudice of his majesty, his heirs, and successors; and that their commissions should expire at Michaelmas in the following year. This instrument being signed and ratified, the ordainers were chosen, and bound themselves by oath to act in the discharge of their trust with the utmost impartiality*.

Ryley.
Rymer.

Edward having thus reconciled himself to his subjects, resolved to prosecute the war with Scotland, in which his interest was by this time almost totally decayed. Robert de Brus, who was perhaps the greatest prince of his time, and justly stiled the restorer of the Scottish monarchy, had been prevented from taking immediate advantage of the late king's death by a violent distemper, which reduced him to extremity: and had young Edward improved this opportunity, he might have with great ease executed the design which his father had projected; but his sudden return freed the Scots in a great measure from that terror and perplexity under which they laboured. At his departure from Scotland, he left his forces, under the command of John Cumin, the most powerful of all the Scottish nobility, whom he knew to be the inveterate enemy of Bruce and his adherents. He was joined by a strong reinforcement of his countrymen, commanded by Mowbray; and as Bruce had made great progress in the North before he was seized with his distemper, they marched against him at the head of a strong army. They found him,

Robert de
Brus subdues
all Scotland,
and expels
the English,

* The ordainers consisted of seven bishops, eight earls, and six barons. The prelates were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Sarum, Chichester, Norwich, St. David's, and Landaff: the earls were Gloucester, Lancaster, Lincoln, Hereford, Pembroke, Richmond, Warwick, and Arundel: the barons were Hugh de Vere, W. le Marechal, Robert Fitz-Roger, Hugh Courtenay, W. Martin, and John de Gray.

A. C. 1310. however, so advantageously posted, that they durst not venture an attack; and as they could not retreat without giving him an opportunity of falling upon their rear, they were fain to sue for a truce, which he readily granted, because his own men were raw, undisciplined, and ill armed, and greatly inferior in number to his adversaries. It was immediately after this transaction that he was taken ill; and the news of his distemper reaching Cumin, this nobleman resolved to draw the Brussian forces into an engagement, where they could not avail themselves of the conduct, nor be animated by the presence of their leader. He accordingly marched to Inverury, where they were encamped; and Robert being informed of his design, ordered his attendants to carry him into the field, where his army was drawn up under his eye, and by his immediate direction. Then he was set upon horseback, supported by two domestics, and conveyed to the front of the line, where he continued to direct the battle. His people fought with such alacrity in presence of their beloved prince, that Cumin and Mowbray were soon defeated; and the satisfaction produced from this success in all probability contributed to the recovery of the victor. He now surprised the castle of Inverness, over-ran Murray, from whence he drove the earl of Buchan before him; then entering Angus, reduced the castles of Brechin and Forfar, and subdued the whole country to the northward of these fortresses. Donald of the isles, and John lord of Argyll, being the most powerful enemies he had now to encounter in his own country, he detached his brother Edward with a body of troops to reduce the first, and he himself marched against the other. The same success attended both expeditions. Donald was routed and taken, and John was defeated and obliged to retire into England. By these victories Bruce became master of the western

western coasts, and was enabled to equip a fleet of ships for the protection of the isles he had conquered. Having reduced all Scotland to his obedience, he made incursions into Northumberland, where he ravaged the country without opposition; Edward being so distressed by the dissatisfaction of the nobility, and emptiness of his exchequer, that he could not defend his dominions from this invader.

While he was thus restricted and hampered by his own subjects, as well as by the enemy, he listened to the suggestions of his father-in-law the French king, who proposed a truce with the Scots, which was accordingly concluded by the negotiation of the earl of Gloucester and two papal nuncios. This was a very convenient cessation for Robert de Brus, who now found leisure to establish a regular form of government, and conciliate the affection of the nobility, who had been hitherto averse to his interest. After such repeated proofs of his valour and sagacity, the majority of those who had formerly opposed him were now inclined to acknowledge the deliverer of their country; and his title was recognized in a full convention of the estates. What considerably tended to the confirmation of his authority, was an ambassador sent to him in the person of Oliver des Roches, who passed through England by virtue of a safe-conduct granted by Edward. He hoped that a speedy peace would be the result of the negotiation: but the success of his endeavours was prevented by the ferocity of the Scots, who renewed their incursions on the English border without any regard to the truce; and Edward summoned his military tenants to meet him at Newcastle upon Tyne by Michaelmas, that he might chastise the Scots for having violated the convention. The discontented barons refusing to attend at the rendezvous, the expedition was laid aside, and the truce renewed: but the Scots recom-

Edward
marches into
Scotland.

Fordun.
Hemingford;

A. C. 1310. mencing hostilities, the king sent for Richard de Burgh earl of Ulster, and a body of forces from Ireland; ordered a fleet to sail towards the mouth of the Tay, for the security of Perth, which was still in his possession, and appointed another rendezvous at Berwick. Though the earls of Lancaster, Pembroke, Warwick, and Hereford, excused themselves from going thither, on account of the ordinances about which the committee was employed at London, Edward resolved to proceed with his enterprize; and entering Scotland, advanced as far as Linlithgow, without seeing the face of an enemy. The soldiers of Robert de Brus were not yet sufficiently trained for a pitched battle; and therefore he retired before the English army, after having removed every thing that could serve them for forage or subsistence. He did not fail, however, to pour down from the mountains occasionally, upon detached parties of the enemy, which he generally interrupted and destroyed: so that Edward seeing his forces insensibly diminish, and beginning to be in great want of provision, retreated to Berwick, where he passed the winter.

A. C. 1311.

Ordinances
approved in
parliament.

He now gave directions for fortifying all his castles in Scotland, and supplying them with plenty of stores and ammunition: and in the spring he sent his favourite Gaveston with the bulk of his army against Bruce, who had recovered in the winter all the places which Edward reduced in the preceding campaign. Piers penetrated beyond the frith of Forth; but, as he could not draw the Scots to a general engagement, he did not perform any considerable service. When he returned to Berwick, the king set out for London, where he had summoned a parliament to meet on the eighth day of August, that they might confirm the new ordinances. These were accordingly delivered to his council, and found so injurious to the royal dignity, that

that Edward at first rejected several articles as contrary to the nature of the commission, by which they were restricted from doing any thing to his prejudice. The committee were as tenacious of every particular; and the king, in order to prevent mischief, at length gave his assent, after having protested, that if any article contained in those ordinances should be found prejudicial to the king, or unauthorized by his commission, it should be deemed null and non-confirmed; and he reserved to himself a power of correcting and reforming the articles, by the advice of the ordainers and others. These ordinances being perused and approved by the parliament, the lords and commons, as well as the mayor and aldermen of London, bound themselves by oath to observe them: towards the latter end of September, they were published by the prelates, earls, and barons, in St. Paul's church-yard, and next day in the cathedral by the king's council. They provided that the church should enjoy her franchises, and the two charters be preserved: that the customs should be collected by natives, and be payed into the exchequer: that Frenobalde and his partners, by whom they had been hitherto farmed, should account for their receipts within a certain time, on pain of being arrested, and treated as enemies to the public: that no prizes should be taken by the king's officers without the owner's consent: that the custom or duty upon wine should be no longer collected: that the jurisdiction of the marshal of the king's court should be limited to causes concerning the servants or officers of the household, or such as lived within the verge of the court: that it should be deemed felony in any person to take corn, goods, and merchandize, under a false pretence of purveyance for the king: that sheriffs should be appointed by the chancellor, treasurer, king's council, barons of the exchequer, and

A. C. 1311. justices of the king's bench; and that none should be admitted to that office but such as had lands to answer for their actions: that parliaments should be held once a year: that the coin of the nation should not be altered without the consent of the baronage: that all persons prosecuted unjustly and acquitted should be intitled to damages: that none should be appealed maliciously, or outlawed in counties where they had no lands or tenements: that they should neither forfeit their lives or estates, provided they should surrender themselves to the king's prison to stand trial: that pardons for robbery and felony should not be lightly granted; but be deemed void, unless agreeable to the king's oath, the course of the law, and the custom of the kingdom: that all privy seals for stopping law or common right, on fraudulent pretence of being in the service of the crown, should be declared void, and the plaintiff recover damages on discovery of the deceit: that the jurisdiction of the court of exchequer should be restrained to pleas that concerned the crown, the officers of the exchequer, and their menial servants: that acquittances should be given for debts payed, and accounts pass'd in the exchequer; or if denied, the plaintiff should have remedy in parliament: that all grants of castles, towns, lands, offices, wards, and escheats in Gascony, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, as well as in England, made since the sixteenth day of March in the foregoing year, should be resumed by the crown, and not renewed to the same persons, without the advice of the barons, or the consent of the parliament; that all grants which might be made, before the payment of the king's debts and the improvement of his revenue, should be deemed null, and the procurers of such grants punished by the award of the baronage: that evil counsellors should be removed from the person of the king,
particularly

particularly Henry de Beaumont, and his sister the lady Viscy, who had obtained grants from the king to the dishonour of his royalty and the damage of the crown: that Piers Gaveston should be banished for ever out of all the king's dominions, for having administered evil counsel to his majesty, embezzled his treasure, impoverished the realm, by obtaining grants and blank charters; protected robbers, arrogated to himself the royal dignity, and formed unlawful associations in defiance of justice: that for these misdemeanours, he should quit the kingdom before the first day of November; or if found in any part of his majesty's dominions after that day, he should be treated as an enemy to the king and kingdom; that the king should not quit the realm, nor declare war against any other prince or potentate, without the consent of his baronage: that upon his leaving the kingdom with the consent of his barons, a guardian of the realm should be appointed in parliament, which should also nominate the chief officers of state, of the household, of the revenue, and of justice, as well as the governors of ports and castles on the sea-coast; and all persons employed under the crown of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Guienne: that all persons in office should oblige themselves by oath to observe these ordinances: that one bishop, two earls, and as many barons, should be chosen in every parliament to receive complaints against the king's ministers, and others, who should transgress these ordinances; and punish the offenders at discretion.

Clause 5.
Edward II.

Though the greatest part of these ordinances was confirmed before the session broke up, Edward resolved that those which struck at his prerogative should be re-examined and corrected; and adjourned the parliament till November. To part with his darling Gaveston was like tearing the soul from the body; yet he was obliged to comply with

Gaveston recalled from banishment.

A. C. 1311. that cruel clause, and perhaps he thought this sacrifice would prevail upon the parliament to mitigate the other articles at their next meeting. He was disappointed in his expectation. The earls of Gloucester, Lancaster, Hereford, Pembroke, Warwick, and Arundel, appeared in arms with numerous retinues, and loudly complained that Gaveston still lurked in Cornwall, or some of the western counties. The king ordered search to be made for him in those parts, for their satisfaction; but they still refused to qualify the ordinances, and the parliament was dissolved. Gaveston had taken up his residence at Bruges in Flanders, where he lived in all the splendor of a sovereign prince, and did not doubt of his being speedily recalled from exile. Whether he did not think it safe to reside in a place under the immediate influence of the French king, by whom he was detested, or received a private invitation from Edward, he returned about Christmas to York, where the king received him as usual, with demonstration of rapture; and, in a little time after his arrival, he was declared a faithful subject, restored to his possessions, and distinguished by new favours. The barons immediately took the alarm, and raised a clamour over the whole nation. They inveighed against the presumption and arrogance of Gaveston; they accused the king of having transgressed the laws and customs of the kingdom; and charged him in particular with contempt of the late ordinances, which were zealously espoused by the people. In order to remove these impressions, the king published a proclamation, assuring his subjects of his firm resolution to observe the laws, and enforce all the ordinances except such as intrenched upon his prerogative, and tended to subvert the constitution of the kingdom. That they might have no room to doubt his sincerity, he empowered the bishop of Norwich and others, to
 treat

treat with the ordainers about correcting those articles that were injurious to the crown, and contrary to the nature of the commission by virtue of which they had been enacted: but the discontented party, though then assembled at London, refused to treat upon the subject in the king's absence; yet they professed themselves ready to treat with him in person, and comply with every reasonable demand for his satisfaction. This, however, was no more than a shew of moderation; for by this time they had resolved to humble the power of the crown, and for that purpose some of them are said to have favoured the progress of Robert de Brus in Scotland. They had certainly exceeded their commission in framing the ordinances, and insisted upon some that were altogether unconstitutional; but, as they knew their own strength, they were determined to use it to the best advantage. Though the great offices of the crown were no longer in his disposal, yet even by the ordinances he was allowed to fill up the vacancies for the time being, till the meeting of the parliament; and by virtue of this power, he bestowed the post of treasurer during that interval upon Walter bishop of Litchfield, whom he had formerly persecuted. After a strict inquisition into his conduct, he had been found innocent, and admitted into favour. While he was a prisoner, the earls of the opposition had interceded in his behalf; but, now that he was restored to his former office, they took umbrage at his promotion. The earls of Pembroke and Hereford, attended by a number of knights, entered the exchequer, where he sat for the dispatch of business, and asked whether or not he had taken an oath for observing the late ordinances: when he replied in the affirmative, they forbade him to act as treasurer, on pain of being deemed and treated as an enemy to the kingdom: they like-

A. C. 1312.

Ryley.

The discontented nobles lay inhibitions upon the treasurer and the barons of the exchequer.

wife laid injunctions under the same penalty upon the chamberlains, to issue no money out of the exchequer to any person whatever; and then withdrew. To crown Walter's disgrace, the archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated him for perjury, in breaking the oath he had taken for observing the ordinances; and Walter appealing from the sentence, was obliged to go in person to Avignon, before he could be absolved.

Gaveston is taken and beheaded by the lords in the opposition.

The discontented earls, joined by John de Warenne earl of Surrey, whom they had found means to detach from the king's interest, having concerted measures for accomplishing their aim, began with a demand that Gaveston should either be delivered into their hands, or banished the kingdom without delay. The king refusing to comply with their address, the archbishop thundered out the sentence of excommunication against the favourite; and the barons resolved to take arms, under the command of the earl of Lancaster, whom they chose for their general. Having assembled a number of forces at different parts, on pretence of holding tournaments, they suddenly united all their bodies, so as to compose a numerous army, and began their march for Newcastle, where the king resided, in full confidence of receiving a reinforcement of Gascons, before the barons would proceed to extremity. His security, however, was so ill founded, that the earl of Lancaster had reached within a few miles of Newcastle, before he had the least intimation of his approach; so that he was fain to retire with precipitation to Tinmouth, where he embarked with his retinue. He set Gaveston ashore at the castle of Scarborough, one of the strongest fortresses in England, and he himself landed at Knareborough; from whence he proceeded to York. The general of the barons no sooner understood the place of Gaveston's retreat, than

Rymer.
M. Malm.

than he detached the earls of Surrey and Pembroke, Henry de Piercy, and Robert de Clifford, with a body of forces to invest Scarborough, while he took post between that place and York, to cut off all communication between the king and his favourite. Edward sent orders to the barons to raise the siege; but these were slighted, and the operations carried on with redoubled vigour. Gaveston stood several assaults; but seeing no prospect of relief, and afraid of exasperating the besiegers by an obstinate defence, he desired to capitulate, and surrendered himself to Aymer earl of Pembroke, on condition of being kept in safe custody till the first of August; and in case he should not consent to the resolutions which the earls might take concerning his person, before that time, he should be restored to the state in which they found him, and put in possession of the castle which he now resigned. The king advised him to comply with these terms, in hope of being able to raise an army for his relief; and the earl of Pembroke, with Henry de Piercy, obliged themselves to perform the articles, on pain of forfeiting all their lands and tenements. Aymer proposed to convey the prisoner to his own castle of Wallingford; but left him at Dedington in Oxfordshire, on pretence of passing a night with his lady, who resided in the neighbourhood. Guy earl of Warwick having raised the posse comitatus, beset the house in which Gaveston lodged, and his guards refusing to defend him against such a powerful aggressor, he was carried to the castle of Warwick. Thither the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, repaired to hold a consultation about the prisoner; and it being resolved to put him to death, as an enemy to the kingdom, he was conveyed to a place called Blacklow-hill, now Gaversike, and beheaded by a Welshman provided for that purpose. Lancaster is said to have
viewed

A. C. 1312. viewed the head, when severed from the body, with marks of barbarous triumph: and indeed the whole of this scene was acted with cruelty and perfidiousness; for if Gaveston was actually guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, he ought to have been fairly tried by the laws of his country. The body of this unfortunate nobleman was carried to the convent of the Dominican Friars at Oxford, where it lay unburied on account of the sentence of excommunication under which he died; but it was afterwards sumptuously interred at Langley in Hertfordshire. The earl of Pembroke being suspected of collusion with those who deprived Gaveston of his life, complained loudly of the injury he had sustained; and going to the earl of Gloucester, begged that nobleman's assistance in vindicating his honour, and saving his lands from being forfeited. He expressed himself to the same purpose in a convocation of the university of Oxford, and afterwards renounced the cause of the confederate barons. The king admitted his apologies, and gladly received him into his service; but as Henry de Percy did not appear at court, he was reputed guilty: his lands was forfeited according to the tenour of the bond he had given, and an order was issued for apprehending his person.

Dugdale.

The king had, upon Gaveston's capitulation, quitted York, and proceeded as far North as Berwick, where he received the tidings of his favourite's death. The transports of his grief on this occasion was such as might have been expected from the extravagance of passion he had always expressed for Gaveston. He underwent the most violent agitations, which might have endangered his life, if he had not found means to oppose his sorrow with his resentment. His grief was not silent and desponding, but loud and impetuous. He denounced vengeance against the murderers of his minion, and
set

set out immediately for London, where he was persuaded by the earl of Pembroke, Hugh le Despenser, the lords Beaumont and Mauley, to levy forces and revenge such a flagrant insult upon his royal authority. He summoned a parliament to meet in August, repaired to Dover, where he fortified the castle, received the oath of allegiance from the barons of the Cinque-Ports, demanded succours from France, and returning to London, assembled a considerable body of forces. He at the same time summoned all who were possessed of forty pounds in land, to come and receive the honour of knight-hood; and appointed commissioners to treat about the ordinances at the ensuing parliament. The malcontents, however, paid no regard to the summons they had received; and, as they did not appear at the day appointed, orders were issued, forbidding them to raise forces, and prohibiting all others from joining in their rebellious measures. Notwithstanding these orders, the barons proclaimed tournaments in different counties, and levied such a number of troops as exceeded the king's army. At the head of these the earl of Lancaster advanced towards London; and a civil war must have necessarily ensued, had not the earls of Gloucester and Richmond, together with the French ambassador and pope's nuncio, interposed their good offices to prevent such a dreadful calamity. By their mediation a treaty was set on foot, and a safe-conduct granted to the earl of Hereford, and the lords Clifford and Botetourt, that they might come to court and treat about an accommodation. As these deputies proceeded very slowly in their deliberations, the earl of Lancaster was furnished with a safe-conduct; and the queen being delivered of her eldest son Edward at Windsor, the king was so overjoyed at this event, that he seemed to have forgot the loss of Gaveston, and sent a message to the barons, im-

porting

A. C. 1312.

M. Malm.

A. C. 1312. porting that he would consent to any thing they could ask in reason. They demanded a confirmation of all the ordinances without exception; and a full pardon for the death of Gaveston, whom they branded with the name of a traitor. Edward at first rejected this condition; but at length the treaty was concluded on these terms: that the barons should come before the king in Westminster-hall, and ask pardon on their knees: that they should restore the effects of Gaveston which they had seized at Newcastle: that they and their adherents should have a full pardon, under the sanction of parliament, for the death of Gaveston, and the hostilities they had committed against the king; and that a like pardon should be granted to the friends and adherents of that unhappy favourite: that a provision should be made in parliament for preventing the barons from coming to such assemblies in arms, with a great number of followers, so as to endanger the peace of the kingdom: that immediately after the pacification a reasonable subsidy should be granted for the maintenance of the war in Scotland; and that Henry de Piercy should be restored to his honours and estate.

Rymer.

The order of the Templars dissolved.

In the course of this year was held the first session of the council of Vienne, where Philip the Fair appeared in person, with three of his sons, and his brother Charles de Valois. Pope Clement gave the assembly to understand that he had convened them to consult about the recovery of the Holy Land, and the fate of the Templars, who had been seized and imprisoned all over Europe, in consequence of being charged with crimes of the most atrocious nature. In all probability, their great power and immense wealth excited the jealousy and envy of the European princes; for by this time they enjoyed sixteen thousand lordships in Christendom. Such a society, independent of all governments, though their

their influence extended through every kingdom of Europe, could not but alarm every prince of sound policy, especially as the order gained ground every day, and increased their possessions either by purchase or benefaction. Philip the Fair, dreading the progress of their power, and allured by the hope of sharing their acquisitions, found means to trump up an accusation against the whole order, containing such articles as intailed upon them the detestation and abhorrence of mankind. Two infamous persons who had been expelled from the order, impeached them of renouncing Christ at their admission, of spitting and trampling upon the cross, and worshipping a wooden head with a large beard. They were likewise accused of certain unnatural crimes, which it would be indecent to describe; and their pride, insolence, and voluptuous manner of living had rendered them so odious to the world in general, that no power or advocate of consequence would undertake their defence. Upon the information of these two evidences, Philip ordered all the Templars in his dominions to be seized in one day, and all their estates to be confiscated. He then tampered with the most dissolute among the prisoners, and chiefly by threats intimidated them into such a confession as would answer his purpose. He is even said to have forged confessions, and to have fraudulently obtained the signature of the great master and other chiefs of the order, who, being so illiterate that they could neither read nor write, set their marks to a paper which they were told was no more than an acknowledgment of some trifling irregularities; whereas it was a full confession of the most enormous crimes. When this was afterwards read in their hearing, before the pope's commissaries, they were seized with horror and indignation, and loudly disclaimed the paper as a vile imposition. This declaration was deemed apostacy; and above

A. C. 1312. threescore was publicly burned, professing their innocence to the last moment of their lives. Edward hearing of these proceedings, had writ in their favour to the pope, and the king of Castile, Arragon, and Sicily; but his holiness, with whom the king of France had concerted the destruction of the order, sent a letter to the king of England, desiring that all the Knights-Templars of England and Ireland should be apprehended, and all their estates sequestered in both kingdoms. Edward complied with his request, and the pope sent over two commissaries to enquire into the crimes laid to their charge: examinations were taken in different parts of the realm; but nothing appeared against them which could justify the dissolution of their order. Archbishop Winchelsey convened a provincial synod at London, in order to determine this affair; but the members could not be persuaded to condemn them, or publish the pope's excommunication, according to the direction of his holiness, in case they should be found guilty. The archbishop being in haste to set out for the council of Vienne, left the discussion of the charge of heresy to Robert de Pykering, his vicar-general, who called a new convocation, and producing the extorted confessions of seventy-two Templars who were burned at Paris, the clergy were prevailed upon to pass a censure against the knights as heretics. Each Templar was ordered to abjure all heresy; confess that he was rendered infamous by the pope's bull, and submit himself to the grace of God, and the ordinance of the council. In the very first session of this assembly, pope Clement, in presence of the kings of France and Navarre, having prohibited all persons, on pain of the greater excommunication, from speaking one word in that council without his permission, declared the order of Templars dissolved, by the plenitude of his
power;

power; and that he reserved their lands and effects to his own disposal. These he afterwards granted to the Knights-Hospitallers, who had lately taken the isle of Rhodes, and done great service against the infidels. The two cardinals were sent to see this bull executed in England; and the knights of the Hospital petitioned, by their procurators, that they might be put in possession of the lands which had belonged to the other order; but the king deferred his answer until he could consult with his nobility. The barons had already seized all the lands which their ancestors had granted to the Templars, alledging that these lands of right reverted to them as heirs of the founders, on the dissolution of the order; and ten years elapsed before they were prevailed upon to cede them to the Hospitallers.

A. C. 1312.

Heming.
Con. Baron.

A. C. 1313.

Rymer.

While Edward was embroiled with his barons in England, Robert de Brus executed his projects without opposition. He reduced the fortresses of Bute, Dumfries, and other castles in Scotland, and ravaged the English border, from whence he carried off great booty. During the succeeding winter, he took Perth by assault; Sir James Douglas surprised Roxburgh, and the castle of Edinburgh was taken by Thomas Randolph earl of Murray. Robert having thus made himself master of all the strengths in the kingdom, except Stirling, Dunbar, and Berwick, ordered his brother Edward to invest the first of these, and he attempted to surprize the latter, but miscarried through the barking of a dog, which alarmed the garrison. A treaty had been set on foot between Edward and Robert, by the mediation of the French king; but, before he could be brought to an accommodation, Edward, who was intent upon being present at the knighthood and coronation of his queen's brother Lewis king of Navarre, set out for Paris, leaving the negotiation

Preparations
for invading
Scotland.

A. C. 1313. with the Scottish king unfinished, and the whole oeconomy of his kingdom unsettled and insecure. During his residence at the court of France, he sent over a commission for the bishops of Bath and Worcester, the earls of Gloucester and Richmond, to hold a parliament in July to confirm the acts of pardon and security : but the great lords thinking themselves slighted by his absence, returned to their own homes ; and though he found the parliament sitting, at his return, no business was transacted, because the earls, upon whose account it had been convened, were withdrawn. He expected a supply ; but being disappointed in that hope, dissolved the assembly, and borrowed sums of money from the bishops and abbots, to raise a body of forces against the Scots, who threatened the kingdom with an invasion. The great lords attending at the next parliament, were graciously received by the king, and assured of a perfect reconciliation ; the acts of pardon and security were passed and published ; particular pardons, under the great seal, were granted to the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Warwick, and near five hundred of their adherents by name ; and the barons gave their assent to an ordinance, declaring it was part of the royal prerogative to prohibit all persons from coming in arms to parliament. In this season of good humour, they voted a considerable subsidy to enable the king to maintain the war in Scotland, where the natives that still adhered to his interest were hard pressed by the Bruffians, and had sent Patrick earl of Marche, and Adam Gordon, to solicit immediate succours. Edward had already formed the resolution of marching to their relief, and raised a considerable sum of money by mortgaging the revenues of Guienne to the pope. But all these funds being insufficient to defray the expence of the meditated enterprize, he borrowed two thousand marks of cardinal Testa ;

Clauſ. 7.
Edward II.

and sent briefs to almost all the individual ecclesiastics of England, requiring from each a sum proportioned to his abilities. He had dismissed the Scottish deputies, with assurances of being at Berwick with all his forces by the feast of St. John the Baptist, and began to make mighty preparations for humbling Bruce, who had by this time civilized his subjects, formed an excellent army, and reduced the isle of Man to his obedience. His brother Edward had invested Stirling, which was naturally strong, and so gallantly defended by Mowbray, that after divers assaults, in which the besiegers were always repulsed with great loss, both sides agreed to a cessation of arms for one year; at the expiration of which the castle should be surrendered, if not relieved before that time by the English. King Edward, in the midst of all his preparations, sailed from Dover to Boulogne; though the cause of this extraordinary voyage is altogether unknown, and returning in a few days, issued writs requiring his military tenants to meet him in arms at Berwick, on the tenth day of June in the following year.

A. C. 1313.

Rymer. 1

As the ordinances were not yet confirmed, a parliament was called for that purpose in January, when the friends of the king opposed them so strenuously, as articles destructive of the prerogative, and subversive of the constitution, that they were rejected by a majority; and for this reason the earl of Lancaster, and the barons of his party, refused to attend the king in his expedition. About this period Edward received intelligence that the Scots had made an irruption into England, where they burned Hexham, and several towns, and not only laid the country under contribution, but compelled the inhabitants to purchase a truce, on condition that they should not for the future oppose the Scots at any time in their invasions of England. The

A. C. 1314.

Edward
marches to
the relief of
Stirling.

A. C. 1314. king was no soon erapprised of these transactions, than he issued orders to the Cinque-Ports, and maritime towns, to equip their fleet, and be at Berwick on the day of rendezvous. He sent the earl of Pembroke, as guardian of Scotland, to check the progress of the enemy in the northern counties: he wrote to the earl of Ulster to raise the Irish chieftians, with their vassals, and bring them to his assistance: he ordered new levies to be made in Yorkshire, and other parts of the kingdom; and assembled such an army as England had never brought into the field upon any former occasion. The king having kept his Easter at Ely, set out for York, and from thence proceeded to Berwick, which he reached about the beginning of June. As the time drew near for the surrender of Stirling, he began his march immediately for the relief of that fortress; and entered Scotland at the head of one hundred thousand fighting men, attended by an incredible number of waggons and camp-followers, so as to cover the whole face of the country. They marched without order, as to an assured victory; and had already parcelled out the lands of the vanquished. They were suffered to advance without molestation from Robert de Brus, who had resolved to hazard a battle; and for that purpose occupied an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of Stirling, where he did not doubt of being attacked by the English. His army consisted of thirty thousand chosen men, trained up to war and hardship under his own eye and example, who were determined to conquer or die in defence of their king and country. With these he took post on a piece of ground bounded on one side by a morass, and on the other by an inaccessible mountain; so that his flanks could not be attacked by the enemy's cavalry. A rivulet, called Bannockburn, ran in his front; and this he had rendered almost impassable,

able, by digging holes in the bed or channel, in which he fixed sharpened stakes for the destruction of the English horse. Large pits were likewise made between this rivulet and his camp, provided with the same instruments of annoyance, and artfully covered with turf and boughs to deceive the aggressors. As the van of Edward's army approached Stirling, under the command of the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, Henry de Bohun, perceiving a body of Scots at the side of a wood, advanced against them with his Welsh followers, and was drawn into an ambush by Robert de Brus, who sallied in person upon them from a thicket; and, riding up to Bohun, cleft his skull with a battle-ax. The English being reinforced from their rear, a sharp dispute ensued, in which the earl of Gloucester was dismounted, and the lord Clifford repulsed with considerable damage. As fresh supplies of men arrived from both armies, in all probability this conflict would have ended in a general engagement, had not night parted the combatants. The soldiers lay upon their arms, and they, as well as the horses, were so fatigued with their march, and the want of repose, that the most experienced officers in the army proposed to defer the attack until the people should be refreshed. This advice was rejected by the young nobility, who were eager to signalize their courage; and it was resolved to give battle to the enemy in the morning. The troops were accordingly drawn up in order of battle; the wings, consisting of cavalry, being commanded by the earls of Gloucester and Hereford; and the king in person taking his station in the centre. Robert de Brus formed his army into three lines, and a body of reserve, which was commanded by Douglas and the lord high steward of Scotland. As he had little confidence in his horse, he ordered the troops to dismount: he placed his bro-

A. C. 1314.

ther Edward at the head of the right wing, Randolph conducted the left, and he himself commanded the main body. When the English army was on the point of charging, a dispute arose about the post of honour, between the earls of Gloucester and Hereford; and the former, impatient of controul, advanced immediately to the charge with great impetuosity. But their career was soon stopped by the hidden pits and trenches, into which the horses tumbled headlong, and were staked in a miserable manner. This unforeseen disaster produced the utmost confusion; and the Scots taking advantage of their disorder, fell upon them sword in hand, with such fury that the greatest part of them was cut in pieces. The earl of Gloucester's horse being killed, he fell to the ground, where he was immediately trodden to death; and Sir Giles de Argentein seeing him fall, sprung forward to his rescue: but that gallant officer was slain, together with Robert de Clifford, Payen de Tibetot, and William Mareschal. While this havoc was making in the right wing of cavalry, the English archers advanced against the right wing of the enemy, and galled them so effectually with their arrows that they were upon the point of giving ground, when Douglas and the Steward, making a wheel with their body of reserve, fell upon the flank of the English, and routed them with great slaughter. Mean while the centre, commanded by Edward, moved on against the main body of the Scots, and met with a very warm reception from Robert de Brus, who fought in the front of the line with unequalled valour. The English were already dispirited by the destruction of their wings, and the loss of their bravest officers, when the boys, and other followers of the Scottish camp, who viewed the battle from a neighbouring hill, perceiving the success of Douglas and the Steward, began to shout aloud,

and

and run towards the field for the sake of plunder. The English, startled at their acclamations, and seeing such a multitude in motion, imagined they were succours coming to reinforce the enemy; and on this supposition betook themselves to flight with the utmost precipitation. Those who attended the king hurried him off the field towards the castle of Stirling, into which, however, the governor would not give him admittance, because he was obliged by his capitulation to surrender the castle to the victor; so that Edward fled to Dunbar, where he was cordially received by Patrick earl of Marche, who had always been a faithful adherent of his family. Mean while confusion, rout, and consternation prevailed among the English forces: and victory declared for the Scottish king, who improved it to the best advantage. A great number of his enemies were slain upon the spot, as well as in the pursuit; and few or none would have escaped, had not his soldiers been intent upon the booty, which is said to have amounted in value to two hundred thousand pounds. The earl of Hereford, with John Giffard, John de Wilyngton, the earl of Angus, the lords Mounthermer, Piercy, Nevil, Scroope, Lucy, Acton, Latimer, Segrave, Berkley, Beauchamp, and other barons, to the number of five and twenty, were taken prisoners, together with a great multitude of bannerets and knights. The number of the slain amounted to about seven hundred lords, knights, and esquires, and twenty thousand common soldiers. Nor was the victory purchased without bloodshed on the side of Bruce, who lost above four thousand of his best men in the field of battle. Douglas was detached with four hundred cavalry to pursue Edward, who with great difficulty reached the castle of Dunbar, in such trepidation that he made a vow to found a house in Oxford for four and twenty Carmelite divines, in

A. C. 1314.
Edward defeated by
Bruce at
Bannockburn.

A. C. 1314. case he should escape the danger by which he was encompassed. As his pursuer still hovered in the neighbourhood, he would not venture to prosecute his journey by land, but embarked on board of a small vessel, in which he was transported to Berwick, where he thought himself secure. Robert de Brus treated the prisoners with great humanity. He expressed unfeigned sorrow for the death of Sir Giles de Argentein, to whose worth he was no stranger. The bodies of Gloucester and lord Clifford were sent to the king of England: the lord Mounthermer, as the ancient friend of Bruce, was dismissed without ransom; the slain were decently interred, the wounded carefully attended, and the prisoners assured of liberty as soon as a reasonable cartel should be established. Robert's moderation was altogether admirable. Instead of prosecuting his victory by marching into England, while the whole kingdom was filled with terror and consternation, he proposed reasonable conditions of peace to Edward; and commissioners were appointed by both princes to treat of an accommodation. The conferences were opened at Durham; but the Scottish deputies insisting, as a preliminary, upon the king's recognizing the title of Bruce, and the independence of the Scottish crown, Edward refused to treat upon such terms, and the negotiation proved ineffectual.

Walsing.
Mon. Malm.
Fordun.

The Scots
ravage the
north: rn
counties.

Mean while Edward, having taken proper measures for the security of Berwick, repaired to York, where he convoked a parliament, to deliberate upon the state of the nation, and raise a supply adequate to the present emergency: but the barons, instead of answering his expectation, complained loudly of the non observance of the ordinances, and imputed his ill success to the advice of evil counsellors. The king finding himself involved in difficulty and distress, from which he had no prospect of being extricated,

extricated, but by the assistance of parliament, was fain to comply with their demands. Hugh D'Es-
 penser, who had succeeded to Piers Gaveston in the
 favour and affection of Edward, was obliged to
 abscond; the lord Beaumont was banished from
 court; the chancellor, treasurer, sheriffs, and other
 officers, were removed, and their places filled with
 persons recommended by the confederate barons.
 The consideration of measures for the recovery of
 Scotland was postponed till the next parliament, on
 account of the absence of the noblemen who were
 taken prisoners at Bannockburn: and that this ob-
 stacle might not retard their operations, a cartel
 was settled with the Scots; in consequence of which
 the English were exchanged for the wife, sister, and
 daughter of Robert de Brus, David earl of Mar,
 Robert earl of Glasgow, and other persons of note,
 who had been taken in the preceding reign. Du-
 ring this session of parliament, Edward de Brus
 and Douglas, at the head of a strong body of forces,
 invaded England on the side of Berwick. They
 ravaged all Northumberland, laid the bishopric of
 Durham under contribution, and penetrating into
 Yorkshire, destroyed Appleby, Kirkwold, and other
 places. At the same time another detachment
 entered the kingdom by Redisdale and Tindale,
 subdued all the country, and even compelled the
 inhabitants to swear allegiance to the Scottish
 monarch.

A. C. 1314.

Rymer.

Edward finding the subsidy granted by this par-
 liament unequal to his occasions, summoned an-
 other to meet at Westminster in January, where
 the melancholy state of the kingdom came under
 consideration. The country was not only ravaged
 by the enemy, but distressed with famine; and the
 parliament petitioned the king that an ordinance
 should be made against the monopolizers of pro-
 vision. This was accordingly passed, but was next
 year

A. C. 1315.

Edward de
 Brus lands
 in Ireland,
 and gains se-
 veral battles
 over the
 English.

A.C. 1315. year repealed, because it was found to destroy the markets. The king confirmed the great charters, and even the late ordinances, and appointed commissioners to make perambulations through the forests. In consideration of these commissions, the parliament granted a twentieth of moveables, by which he was enabled to raise a considerable army: but, as the subsidy was insufficient for its maintenance, he demanded loans from the religious societies of the kingdom, and issued writs fixing the proportion of this extorted benevolence, by which large sums were brought into the exchequer. While Edward was thus employed in recruiting his exhausted finances, the Scots distressed the English merchants by depredations at sea; and their land-forces entering England, plundered the whole bishopric of Durham. The king, alarmed at this invasion, assembled some troops, and marched as far north as Berwick; from whence he issued writs to the earl of Lancaster and Henry Percy, as well as to all his military tenants, to meet him in arms at Newcastle, in the month of August, and attend him on his purposed expedition into Scotland. His orders, however, were very ill obeyed; for the people had not yet recovered of their panic occasioned by the defeat at Bannockburn: so that finding himself too weak to carry on an offensive war, all he could do was to visit and put the frontier places in a posture of defence. Then he returned to London, after having appointed the earl of Pembroke his lieutenant on the northern borders; and empowered the lord Edmund le Botiller justiciary of Ireland, to treat with the Irish chieftians for a body of forces to serve in the purposed invasion of Scotland. Those people, far from being disposed to contribute their assistance to such an undertaking, had already resolved to shake off the English yoke. They had long complained of the oppression under which they

they laboured; and the petitioners which they had presented for redress, had been hitherto neglected by the king and his council. No Irishman could sue in the king's court, or make a will to dispose of his effects. No female of that country, if married to an Englishman, could have her dower; the natives could not be admitted into any religious order; and if an Irishman was murdered by an Englishman, the assassin was not liable to prosecution. The chiefs and nobles of Ireland had often petitioned that they might hold their lands in capite of the crown of England, and enjoy the benefit of the English laws: but their request was still refused. Their properties were invaded, their persons insulted, their lives taken away, and all satisfaction by the way of law and justice had been denied. They had implored the mediation of the pope, which had proved fruitless; at length they solicited the assistance of Robert de Brus, offering to acknowledge him or his brother Edward as monarch of Ireland, and to join them with all their vassals. Edward Brus being fond of military glory, brave even to rashness, and still more ambitious than brave, prevailed upon his brother to let him undertake the conquest of Ireland; and was immediately furnished with troops and transports for that purpose. He embarked with six thousand chosen men, and landing in Ulster about the beginning of May, was joined by a good number of the Irish, who considered him as their deliverer. His first attempt was against Dundalk, which he reduced; then he ravaged Urgyle, and drove the English out of Ulster. The justiciary assembled a body of forces to oppose his progress, and these taking the field under the command of the earl of Ulster, were defeated near Coleraine. Edward de Brus, after this victory, besieged and took Carrick-Fergus; and then almost all the native Irish in the kingdom declared

against

A. C. 1315. against the English government. Roger de Mortimer having levied a fresh army, gave battle to the Scots at Henlis, in Meath, where he was routed with great slaughter. The victor reduced several places in the neighbourhood, and afterwards subdued the county of Kildare, before the justiciary was in a condition to take the field; at length he marched against him, and was defeated in a pitched battle near Skitheries.

Llewellyn
Bren rises
an insurrec-
tion in
Wales.

While Edward de Brus proceeded with great rapidity in his conquest of Ireland, his brother Robert invaded Cumberland, and undertook the siege of Carlisle, which was so gallantly defended by Andrew de Harcla, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having been repulsed in divers assaults, and lost several officers of distinction. There seems to have been a formed design of distressing the English at this juncture, by attacking them in three different quarters; for, exclusive of the descent upon Ireland, an insurrection was raised in Glamorgan-shire by Llewellyn Bren, who had enjoyed a considerable post under the late earl of Gloucester. Having been deprived of his office at the death of that nobleman, he resented his dismissal so highly, that he resolved to employ all his influence, which was very extensive, in engaging the Welsh in a rebellion. He in a little time found himself at the head of ten thousand men, with whom he surpris'd the castle of Caerfilly: but the earl of Hereford, and the other lords of the Marches, assembling their vassals; and being reinforced by a body of forces sent thither by the king, under the command of W. de Montacute, Llewellyn took refuge in the mountains; from whence he detached parties to fall upon the English stragglers, till at length he was beset on all hands, and proposed a capitulation; which being refused, he surrendered at discretion. The king, however, thought proper to pacify the
discontents

discontents of the Welsh, by granting them certain indulgencies and privileges which they had not formerly enjoyed. The fines paid by the tenants to their lords, for the marriages of their daughters, were moderated. Freeholders were allowed to put their sons in holy orders without the king's licence, and to alienate their lands for three years; and orders were given to observe the ordinances at Kennington all over the principality. Nor did Edward neglect such measures as he thought conducive to the preservation of Ireland. He sent a commission to John de Hotham for raising money by the sale of wardships and marriages belonging to the crown, in that country, to levy troops against the Scottish invaders; promised encouragement to all those who should signalize themselves in the course of the war, and ordered the justiciary to remove all officers that seemed unqualified for the places they filled. At this period too the king issued a writ for expelling all the Flemings that were in the kingdom; and he sent orders to all the magistrates of his French dominions to break off all intercourse with that people, because they were considered in the light of rebels to the king of France, with whom Edward was at this juncture very closely connected: but the expulsion of the Flemings was grounded upon an article of the treaty between Edward I. of England, and Philip the Fair of France, who had died in the course of the preceding year; a treaty by which the two parties were restricted from harbouring or succouring the enemies of each other.

A parliament being summoned to meet, at Lincoln, the king declared from the throne, that he had assembled them to consult about the most proper means to reduce the rebels of Scotland: but his speech was coldly received, and the members, without paying any regard to that subject, proceeded immediately to the consideration of means to mitigate

A. C. 1315.

M. Malm,
Rymer.A. C. 1316.
England and
Ireland are
distressed by
a dreadful
famine.

gate

A. C. 1316.

gate the famine, which by this time raged all over England. Edward had procured leave from the king of France, for the merchants of Newcastle to buy up provisions in his dominions; and now the act made in the last session for regulating the price of provision was repealed. When this point was discussed, the king, of his own free motion, issued writs enforcing the observance of all the ordinances and perambulations; and the parliament granted a very extraordinary supply for the maintenance of the Scottish war. Every village or hamlet in the kingdom was taxed at one stout soldier well armed and accoutred, and furnished with subsistence for sixty days; at the expiration of which, he should be maintained by his majesty. Market-towns were rated at a greater expence, according to their size and ability; but with an express declaration that this aid should not be drawn into a precedent: and the towns, boroughs, and cities, of the king's demesnes, were exempted from the imposition. The king summoned all the militia of England to the rendezvous at Newcastle upon Tyne, about Midsummer; and to defray the expedition, the knights, citizens, and burgeses, granted a fifteenth of all their moveables. Edward now acted by the advice of his parliament; and to convince them of his sincere intention to govern according to the fundamentals of the constitution, and live in harmony with the noblemen and barons, he, by the mouth of the bishop of Norwich, proposed a reconciliation between himself and the earl of Lancaster, whom he invited to preside in his councils. That nobleman complied with the invitation, and was appointed commander in chief of all the forces destined for the Scottish expedition; and writs were issued, commanding all persons who possessed a knight's fee, or fifty pounds a year in land, whether holding of the king or other superiors, to come and receive

ceive the order of knighthood. The clergy at this parliament granted no subsidy, excusing themselves on account of the famine, which by this time had filled the whole country with horror, death, and desolation. The wealthiest noblemen were obliged to dismiss the greatest part of their domestics. The highways were infested with robbery and murder: the streets and public places exhibited the most dismal scenes of misery and distress. Numbers of wretched creatures were seen fainting and dying for want of subsistence; and helpless parents lying in their last agonies, surrounded by their tender offspring, clamorous for food. The prisons were burst open, and the malefactors devoured by the desperate populace; the dead became a prey to the living; the graves were robbed of their tenants to allay the rage of hunger; and to such a degree of horror did this calamity encrease, that even the mother was known to destroy and feed upon the fruit of her own womb. This dreadful visitation could not fail to render the prosecution of the war impracticable. A kind of army was levied, and marched, under the command of Lancaster, as far as Newcastle; but this parade was not designed for service, so much as for giving weight to a negotiation which was now set on foot between the two nations. The earl of Angus, Maurice Berkley, and Richard Horsly, were commissioned to conclude a truce with the enemy, and conferences began; but whether the Scots were too high in their demands, or Edward too inflexible, considering the miserable situation of his country, the treaty miscarried, and the season was lost. The day of rendezvous had been shifted from May till August, in hope that the truce would have rendered it unnecessary; and some historians alledge that the earl of Lancaster acted in concert with Robert de Brus, who did not fail to take advantage of the enfeebled state to which Eng-

A. C. 1316.

Negotiation
for a truce
with the
Scots.

land

A. C. 1316. land was by this time reduced. About Midsummer the Scottish forces penetrated into Yorkshire, and laid the inhabitants under contribution: then they ravaged the country for sixty miles, in such a manner as rendered it impracticable for the English army to find the least sustistence in their march; and returning to Scotland with a vast booty, completed the misery of England.

Robert de Brus makes a fruitless descent upon Ireland.

Robert was so little afraid of any effort that Edward could make to the prejudice of his kingdom, that he left Douglas guardian or regent of the realm, and crossed the sea to Ireland with a strong body of forces, in order to complete the conquest of that country. His brother had received a check from the justiciary, and retired to Ulster, where he was detained by a famine equal to that of England, which disabled him from prosecuting his success. He had, however, assumed the title of king, and established a system of civil government; his brother Robert arriving with such a powerful reinforcement, he considered the expulsion of the English as an enterprize already atchieved, and was solemnly crowned king of Ireland at Dundalk. They were joined by the O Neals, O Connors, and other Irish septs, and penetrated into the heart of the country; but failed in their attempt upon Dublin: and far from reaping any advantage from the expedition, Robert had the mortification to see his forces daily diminished by sickness and famine, which was so severe that he and his troops were obliged to feed upon the flesh of dogs and horses, till at length he thought proper to abandon the enterprize, and return to his dominions, leaving Edward still in possession of Ulster. In all probability a prince of Robert's sagacity would not have embarked in such a romantic undertaking, if he had not received some assurances of his own kingdom's being left in quiet during his absence. It was observed, that when the Scots

Scots ravaged the northern counties of England, they always spared the lands and vassals belonging to the earl of Lancaster; and this circumstance subjected that nobleman to a suspicion that he corresponded with the king of Scotland. His subsequent conduct seemed to confirm this conjecture: for he did not appear at the general rendezvous in August; and the king's orders were neglected in the same manner by all the earl's adherents. Edward having repaired to Newcastle, was provoked by this instance of disobedience, at a time when such a fair opportunity offered of reducing Scotland, exposed as it was by the absence of Bruce and his veterans. He issued new orders to Lancaster and the other barons, to appear at Newcastle on the sixth day of October, and summoned all freeholders to the northward of the Trent, possessing fifty pounds a year and upwards, to come with their horses and arms to assist in the expedition to Scotland, on pain of forfeiture. Whether they obeyed this peremptory summons, historians do not declare: but he certainly made some attempts upon Scotland, in which he was unsuccessful. He was worsted in several encounters by Douglas, and a body of troops which landed in Fife was repulsed to their ships with considerable damage.

A. C. 1316.

Rot. Scot.
Ryley.Hollingshed's
A. C. 1317.

King Edward had taken the cross immediately before his father's death; and the pope, whose heart was set upon a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land, had granted him one year's tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues within his dominions: but the war with Scotland hindering him from embarking in that expedition, his holiness ordered both princes to conclude a truce for two years, on pain of excommunication; and sent over two cardinals to negotiate the conditions. He in another bull denounced the same censure against all those that should invade England, and compre-

The pope commands Robert to agree to a truce with England; and excommunicates him for contumacy.

A. C. 1317. hended Robert and Edward de Brus by name in this sentence, provided they would not cease hostilities. The nuncios were gladly received by the king at Nottingham, whence they set out for the North, in their way to Scotland, accompanied by the lord Beaumont and his brother, who was lately elected bishop of Durham. When they had proceeded as far as Aile, within six miles of Darlington, they were attacked and pillaged by Gilbert de Middleton, and a party of his associates, who had taken arms to oppose the incursions of the Scots, and turned professed freebooters. The two brothers they carried away prisoners; but the cardinals were suffered to continue their journey to Durham, where they excommunicated Middleton, who was afterwards surpris'd in his castle, and executed as a robber. The messengers they had sent to prepare for their reception in Scotland returned with an answer from Robert, who gave them to understand, that unless they altered the superscription of their letters to him, from governor of Scotland to king of Scotland, he would neither admit them to an audience, nor suffer them to enter his kingdom. Nevertheless they sent Adam de Newton, guardian of the Franciscans at Berwick, with the pope's bulls to Robert, who lay encamped at Old Camus, preparing his military engines for the siege of that fortress. He was received civilly, in consequence of his character and the safe-conduct he had obtained, but not indulged with an audience, though he proclaimed the truce, and the sentence of excommunication, in the middle of the camp, and was suffered to retire unmolested. Before he returned to Berwick, however, he found himself attacked and plundered of his bulls and credentials, which in all probability were carried back to Bruce. The pope being informed of Robert's contumacy, ordered the cardinals to publish the sentence of excommunication.

nication against him and all his adherents, with an interdict on their lands and possessions: and these censures were fulminated on the borders in the course of the succeeding year; though they produced no alteration in the state of his affairs.

A. C. 1317.

Rymer.

The cardinals being baffled in their designs upon Robert, endeavoured to promote a reconciliation between king Edward and the earls of Lancaster, who looked upon each other with the eyes of jealousy and disgust. The countess of Lancaster had been carried off from her house at Caniford in Dorsetshire, to the castle of Ryegate, by a knight who was a retainer to the earl of Surrey. This dependent was a person of a most hideous aspect, lame, hunch-backed, and perverse in his disposition. He claimed the lady by virtue of a precontract before her marriage to the earl; pretended to have cohabited with her as her husband; and, by an action brought in the king's court at Westminster, demanded, in her right, the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury, of which she was heiress. Such an outrage must have been very provoking to the earl of Lancaster, a prince of the royal blood, the first subject in England, and a man of a proud, imperious temper; but what completed his mortification, and incensed him to the highest pitch of anger and revenge, was the behaviour of the countess, who avowed her own shame, and joined in the prosecution. He looked upon the deformed knight as a tool of the earl of Surrey, and suspected the king of being concerned in this plot against his honour and his fortune. He denounced vengeance against both, and assembled an army of eighteen thousand men, in order to chastise the ravisher of his wife, and those by whom he was countenanced and abetted. Edward being in no condition to cope with such an adversary, had recourse to negotiation; and some efforts were made by moderate people to prevent

Animosity
between the
king and the
earl of Lan-
caster.

A. C. 1317. the calamities of civil war : but these proving ineffectual, the queen desired the legates to interpose their good offices towards an accommodation ; which was accordingly effected at Leicester, with all the exterior marks of sincerity. But this peace was not of long duration ; for their mutual rancour was too personal and immoderate to admit of a thorough reconciliation ; and the creatures of both fomented the animosity by false insinuations. Among other stories calculated for this purpose, the adherents of Lancaster pretended that he detected a certain knight in his way to Scotland, with a writing, in which the king offered Robert de Brus his own terms, if he would compass the death of the earl of Lancaster. This report, though extremely improbable, had great weight with the common people, as well as another circulated at the same time, and implying that Edward had formed the design of surprising the earl by treachery, at his castle of Pontefract. Edward had the misfortune to be despised, distrusted, and even hated by his subjects, who complained that he had broken his engagements, and that therefore they could not depend upon his promise. They now desired the legates would employ their influence with him, for a confirmation of the ordinances, and the great charters of liberties, without those salvos for the prerogative, which in effect destroyed the purpose of his concession. He amused them with a general answer, and issued writs for a new parliament to meet at Lincoln, where he promised his subjects should receive ample satisfaction ; and the cardinals being strangers to his character, as well as to the constitution of the kingdom, were extremely well pleased with his condescension. They made some fruitless attempts in favour of the papal power, and even hinted that there was a bull on the anvil for prohibiting pluralities, and reserving the benefices

A. C. 1318.

Appeased by the mediation of the pope's legates.

fices to be filled up by his holiness; but finding this motion strenuously opposed both by king and people, they returned to Italy, after having fulminated the sentence of excommunication and interdict against the king and the kingdom of Scotland.

A. C. 1318.

These censures seem to have had very little effect upon the fortune of Robert, who having made all the necessary preparations for the siege of Berwick, invested that fortress, which he is said to have reduced by tampering with the governor. After the reduction of that important frontier, he overran Northumberland, in which he took the castles of Werk, Harbottle, and Medford, together with an immense booty; and he was no sooner returned to his dominions, than he sent Douglas with a body of forces to make an irruption into another part of England. That nobleman penetrated into Yorkshire, where he burned the towns of Northallerton and Borough-bridge, and laid the inhabitants of Rippon under contribution. Then they reduced Scarborough and Shipton to ashes, and, together with their plunder, carried a great number of prisoners into Scotland. The king apprehended that the earl of Lancaster would come in arms to the parliament at Lincoln, in which case some disturbance might ensue, resolved if possible to compromise all matters in dispute with that nobleman, by a treaty which was now set on foot. The meeting of the parliament was prorogued to the month of July, the place altered to Northampton. In this interval, an impostor, in all probability distracted in his brain, laid claim to the crown by hereditary right, as the true son of the late king, alledging that he had been exchanged while at nurse, for the person who now swayed the scepter. He made a public declaration to this effect at Oxford, where he was imprisoned by the chancellor of the uni-

The Scots
ravage
Yorkshire.

A. C. 1318. versity; and from thence removed to Northampton, where, still persisting in his extravagant assertion, he was tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor. Edward was extremely unwilling to confirm the ordinances; and the earl of Lancaster as obstinately insisted upon that article as a preliminary of the treaty. Perhaps the negotiation would have proved fruitless, had not the invasion of the Scots alarmed the king to such a degree, that he thought he could not buy an accommodation too dear at such a critical conjuncture. He therefore agreed to confirm the ordinances, in whatever manner the barons should propose, and consent to a provision, by which eight bishops, four earls, and as many barons, were appointed for his standing council; four of them to attend quarterly in their turns, and direct the king with their advice in all his transactions during the intervals of parliament. It was agreed that the earl and his adherents should have a free pardon for all breaches of the peace and felonies; and that he should grant release and acquittance to all persons who had done him injury, excepting however, all suits and actions depending between him and the earl of Surrey. Several bishops, earls, and barons, undertook for the performance of these articles, which were signed in August, and afterwards confirmed in parliament. Lancaster and Warenne were reconciled, Hugh D'Espenser the elder retired from court, and the king was left entirely in the hands of the barons, who now directed the affairs of the kingdom.

Another^p-
cification
between
the king and
the barons.

Rymer,
Mon. Mal.

Edward de
Brus is de-
feated and
slain at
Dundalk.

After this accommodation was finished, Edward, intent upon an expedition against the Scots, repaired to York, where he called a parliament, in which the agreement and pardon were ratified; and here he received the agreeable tidings of a total overthrow sustained by Edward de Brus in Ireland.

The

The archbishop of Dublin having been vested with the office of justiciary, had appointed the lord John Bermingham general of the English forces in that kingdom, which were reinforced by succours from England. Bruce still continued in Ulster, and his brother Robert desired he would not quit his post, or hazard an encounter, until he should bring a body of forces to his assistance. Edward, overboiling with an impetuosity of courage that bordered upon temerity, and intoxicated with the dreams of ambition, could not brook a participation of glory, and resolved to strike some grand stroke before his brother's arrival. With this view he advanced against the English at the head of a small body, not exceeding six thousand Scots and Irish, and being encountered near Dundalk by Bermingham with a numerous army, was totally defeated, and lost his life in the engagement. All his followers were cut in pieces; and Robert, who had already landed in Ireland, hearing of this disaster, reembarked his troops and returned to Scotland.

A. C. 1318.

Annals of
Ireland.
Walsing.The king of
England, be-
sieves Ber-
wick

The king, animated by the news of this victory, which put an end to the Irish war, resolved to improve his good fortune by making an immediate irruption into Scotland. He assembled a large body of forces, and a numerous fleet to supply them with provisions in the enemy's country; but the barons were averse to a winter campaign, and the clergy refused to grant a subsidy without the pope's licence: he was therefore obliged to delay his expedition till the spring; and in the mean time sent Hugh D'Espenser the elder to complain at the court of Rome, that the Scots were encouraged to expect a suspension of the censures they had incurred. Edward at the same time expostulated with the earl of Flanders, between whose subjects and the English the former correspondence had been renewed, complaining that he countenanced Robert

A. C. 1318. de Brus, and allowed the Scots to trade in his dominions : and he made bitter complaints to all his allies on the continent who recognized that prince as a sovereign. But his remonstrances had no effect to the prejudice of Robert, who was by this time acknowledged and esteemed by the greatest princes in Europe. In a parliament which met at York after Easter, a large subsidy was granted by the nobility, freeholders, cities, and boroughs ; and the clergy in convocation voted a tenth of their revenues, having by this time obtained the pope's permission. The tenth day of June was fixed for the rendezvous of the army, and all the military vassals of the crown were summoned to appear in arms at Newcastle: all the great lords and barons attended with a great number of horse ; and as the king had by proclamation granted to every soldier the booty he should take, not exceeding one hundred pounds, a prodigious multitude of infantry assembled at the time and place appointed. Edward began his march from Newcastle in July, and invested the town of Berwick by land, while it was blocked up by sea in such a manner by the fleet of the Cinque-Ports, that it could not possibly receive any succours or provision. The operations of the siege were carried on with great vigour and alacrity, and the place was defended with equal courage by the great steward of Scotland, son-in-law of Robert de Brus, who sustained several desperate assaults ; in some of which the English had actually mounted the ramparts. They were so advantageously posted, that Robert could not attack them with any prospect of success ; and therefore he resolved to make a diversion in favour of the besieged. The queen resided in a village near York, little dreaming she was in any danger from the Scots, who were supposed to be too much engrossed by the defence of their own country, to spare troops for an expedition

tion into England. Robert formed a plan for surprising this princess; and the lord Douglass being charged with the execution, advanced with a body of chosen men towards the place of his destination. But the design miscarried: for one of his spies being apprehended at York, was put to the torture, and disclosed his intention; so that the queen was removed to York, and from thence conveyed to Nottingham. The archbishop being determined to surprise the Scots in his turn, assembling his tenants, vassals, and clergy, to the number of ten thousand, and marched silently from York, towards Milton on the Swale, where, by the information of the spy, he knew the enemy would be quartered on that day. Douglas, however, was too vigilant an officer to suffer himself to be surprised. His men were already in order of battle; and, as the English approached with the wind in their faces, he ordered a great quantity of wet straw to be kindled. They were immediately blinded by the smoke; and while they continued in this cloud, without being able to distinguish the number or posture of their enemy, he fell upon them with such fury that they were instantly routed, and above three thousand either killed upon the spot or drowned in the Swale. The king, apprised of this disaster, raised the siege of Berwick, and divided his forces into two bodies, with a view to intercept the Scots in their retreat: but Douglass took his measures so well that he avoided both divisions, and returned to his own country laden with plunder.

Men. Malm
Walsing.

Truce with
the Scots.

The miscarriage at Berwick gave great umbrage to the whole nation. The attacks had been carried on with such impetuosity, that the place was supposed to be on the point of surrendering, when the king chanced to say he would appoint Hugh D'Espenser governor of the castle. This declaration was

so

A. C. 1319. so disagreeable to the barons, that they abated of their vigour; and a great number quitted the siege with the earl of Lancaster, who was for that reason branded as a traitor. People did not scruple to say, he had contrived the scheme for surprising the queen, and that Robert de Brus corrupted his integrity with a bribe of forty thousand pounds. The earl, incensed at these calumnies, went to the king, and offered to vindicate himself in single combat against any person who should dare to maintain the accusation; but still the suspicion continued, though no champion appeared to support the charge. The Scots, not satisfied with the booty they had obtained, made another incursion in November, ravaged all Gillisland, as far as Burough under Stanmore, and left the three northern counties in a state of desolation. The country was now so exhausted, that the Scots had nothing further to expect from another invasion; and therefore Robert de Brus listened to proposals for a cessation. Edward granted a safe-conduct to ten deputies of that kingdom, who should meet his commissioners at Newcastle, to treat of a truce; which, after much dispute and altercation, was concluded for two years, to the unspeakable satisfaction of Edward, who, in consideration of the losses to which his northern subjects had been exposed, excused them from paying the tenth which had been granted in parliament.

A. C. 1320.

Edward does homage to the king of France for Ponthieu and Guinec.

This respite enabled Edward to take measures for repressing the disorders of his kingdom occasioned by the war, as well as to obey the citation of Philip le Long king of France, who had summoned him to do homage for Ponthieu; and even seized that county, because the king of England had found it hitherto impracticable to give him the satisfaction he had required. A parliament was convened at York, to take the state of the realm into consideration; but nothing of moment was transacted

transacted at this assembly, because the earl of Lancaster did not attend in person. Edward having received a safe-conduct from Philip, appointed Aymer earl of Pembroke guardian of the kingdom during his absence, and sailed about the middle of June for France, where he did homage to the French king for Guienne and Ponthieu; which last was restored upon his taking the oath of fealty. Rymer. After a short stay at the court of France, he returned to England, and issued writs for a parliament to meet in the beginning of October at Westminster. All the great lords attended, except the earl of Lancaster, who sent proxies with his excuse; and divers ordinances were enacted for the re-establishment of the public peace, which had been terribly invaded in the western counties. The common people had engaged in associations, overawing juries, extorting verdicts, obstructing the administration of justice, robbing, burning and murdering, with impunity; and a law was now made for bringing the perpetrators of those enormities to condign punishment. The Flemings had supplied the Scots with arms and provisions, notwithstanding the king's repeated remonstrances against that unfair practice. They had even committed depredations upon the English at sea; and all the measures taken to adjust these matters had proved ineffectual. The parliament taking this affair into consideration, it was resolved that the king of England was lord of the British seas; and that all goods and merchandize taken from the English within those seas, ought to be reputed as taken within the realm; and the captors tried by the king's justices: that suits concerning these depredations should be determined according to law and reason; and that all persons present at such depredations, and knowingly receiving the prize goods in whole or in part, should be charged and punished accordingly.

The

A. C. 1320.

The community of Scotland had writ a letter to the pope, stating the difference between them and the English, and solliciting his holiness not only to remove the interdict which he had laid upon the kingdom, but also to absolve Robert de Brus, and employ his good offices to terminate in an equitable manner the war which had raged so long, to the unspeakable prejudice of both nations. Though the pope did not comply with the former part of their request, he directed a bull to Edward, exhorting him to restore peace to the island; and he accordingly appointed commissioners to treat with the Scottish deputies. The king of France desired that his ambassadors might assist at the conferences; but Edward declined granting this request, because he had reason to think Philip was biased in favour of the enemy; and the negotiation proved ineffec-

A. C. 1321.

tual. The populace of London had risen against the magistrates, on pretence of being unequally assessed, and other grievances; and in one of their riots a Lombard had lost his life. Some itinerant justices were ordered to hold a court in the Tower, and enquire into these disorders; when the ring-leaders of the riots were tried and punished according to their demerits. The mayoralty of the city was seized into the hands of the king, and Robert de Kendal appointed guardian. Though the liberties were soon restored, this transaction produced loud clamours among the citizens, who looked upon their being summoned to a court in the Tower as an infringement of their privileges, which they imputed to the evil counsel of the two D'Espensers, against whom they expressed the most implacable resentment. These two ministers were now become odious to the whole nation. The father was a brave warrior, a wise counsellor, and of an unexceptionable character, in every other respect but his attachment to his son, who trod in the footsteps of

his predecessor Gaveston, and greatly resembled that favourite in his personal endowments, as well as in his pride and ambition. He had been at first forced upon the king by the earl of Lancaster, as chamberlain of the household; in which capacity he had ingratiated himself with Edward by his personal beauty and obsequious behaviour, until he gained such an ascendancy over him as Gaveston had formerly possessed. Then he began to direct all the measures of the government with the most arbitrary influence; and, from a dependent, became the rival of Lancaster. Perhaps his greatest crime was his opposition to that popular and turbulent nobleman. Not but that he made a very bad use of his power. He had married Eleanor, one of the coheiresses of Gilbert de Clare late of Gloucester, and in right of this lady enjoyed the best part of Glamorganshire: but his avarice being insatiable, he encroached upon the shares of the other sisters, and even usurped the lands belonging to other proprietors. He seized the castle of Newport from Hugh de Audeley, who married one of his sisters-in-law; and afterwards, by dint of threats, extorted a conveyance from him, to confirm his possessions: he likewise prevailed upon the king to resume the grants of some castles he had bestowed upon Roger de Mortimer, and appropriated them to his own use and convenience. But no part of his conduct gave such offence as his dispute with John de Mowbray, who had married Aliva, daughter of William de Brahouse lord of Gower. This nobleman had, by a special deed, granted the lands and honour of Gower to his daughter and son-in-law Mowbray, and to the heirs of their bodies lawfully begotten, with remainder to Humphrey Bohun earl of Hereford, and his heirs. Mowbray, by virtue of this deed, took possession of the land without any licence from the king, of whom it held

A. C. 1321.
Dugdale.

A. C. 1321. held in capite; and young D'Espenser made use of this pretence to obtain judgment, by which the lands were forfeited.

The lords of the Welsh Marches rise in arms, and ravage the lands of the favourite.

The lords of the Marches stood up in defence of their privileges, and resolved to oppose the measures of this rapacious favourite, who seemed bent upon depriving them all of their possessions. Hugh de Audeley was glad of an opportunity to recover his castle of Newport; Roger Damory, who had married the third coheirefs of Gloucester, seemed to dread the same injustice; Roger de Mortimer resented the resumption; John de Mowbray and the earl of Hereford were deeply interested against him, for his attempt to seize the land of Gower; Roger de Clifford thought himself injured in a transaction between his mother and D'Espenser, about the estate of Thomas de Clare; and the other barons of the Marches espoused the quarrel of these noblemen, either from fear and hatred of the minister, or affection and attachment to the confederates. they could not expect redress in a legal way, they resolved to take vengeance upon Hugh by force of arms, and solicited the assistance of the earl of Lancaster, which was promised without hesitation. They began to cabal among other noblemen, and assemble in different places, to concert measures for the execution of their design, notwithstanding the orders of the king, who prohibited these seditious conventicles. At length they took the field, and sent a message to the king, demanding that he would dismiss Hugh le D'Espenser, or commit him to safe custody, that he might be forthcoming to answer for the crimes and misdemeanors laid to his charge; otherwise they would renounce their allegiance, and do justice on the criminal by their own authority. Edward, shocked at this intimation, repaired to Gloucester, where he ordered the malcontents to attend him; but they refused to appear.

pear. Then he proceeded to Bristol, in order to provide for the security of those parts, and crush the confederacy in the bud. But all he could do was to reduce an inconsiderable castle belonging to Roger Damory, and order the lands of Hugh de Audeley to be confiscated. He no sooner set out on his return to London, than the malcontents besieged and took Newport-castle, which they delivered to the right owner: they found no difficulty in reducing all the strengths belonging to D'Espenser, who was so detested in Wales, that the people, even his own vassals, would not act in his defence. The barons therefore ravaged all Glamorganshire without opposition, and committed the most barbarous excesses.

Some of the king's council advised Edward to retort these violences upon the lands of the barons; but the majority apprehending that such reprisals would inflame matters to a civil war, it was judged more expedient to issue a proclamation to forbid the continuance of hostilities, and to call a parliament at Westminster, where complaints might be heard, and justice done to the injured. Mean while the confederate barons marched to Sherburn in Yorkshire, where they engaged in an association with the earl of Lancaster and his adherents, and signed an instrument obliging themselves to exert their utmost power in the prosecution of the two D'Espensers. Then they advanced with a numerous army towards London, committing terrible ravages in their march; and when they reached St. Alban's, sent a message to the king, insisting upon the banishment of the father and son, and an indemnity for themselves. Edward replied, that the father was employed abroad, and the son doing his duty at sea, in guarding the Cinque-Ports; that he could not, with any regard to justice, banish them before they were heard; that they were ready to answer for themselves

They advance to London, and compel the king and parliament to banish the two D'Espensers.

A. C. 1321. selves when legally charged with the breach of any law or statute; and that he himself was restrained by his coronation-oath from pardoning rebels and perturbators of the public peace. The barons, incensed at this answer, marched immediately towards London, and took up their quarters about Clerkenwell and Holborn, while the king remained in a defenceless condition at Westminster, to which he had summoned a parliament, that was then sitting. The confederates drew up articles of impeachment against the two D'Espensers, charging them with having misled the king by their evil counsels. They accused the son of an attempt to draw John de Giffard and Richard de Grey, two of the discontented barons, into a conspiracy; for compelling the king to act according to his direction; of having put Llewellyn to death after he had surrendered at discretion; of procuring unjust grants of wardships; of insolence to the king and the nobles; of turning good ministers and officers out of their places, and filling them with his own creatures; of seizing the lands belonging to Hugh de Audeley; of prosecuting John de Mowbray on pretence of his having forfeited the land of Gower; and of persuading the king to hinder the barons to resume the lands which their ancestors had granted to the Knights-Templars. This impeachment being prepared, they carried it to the parliament, where it was read in presence of the king and the nobility, who did not think proper to make any objections, as the hall was filled with armed people. When it had thus received the approbation of the assembly, it was enacted in form of a statute, that both the D'Espensers had forfeited their estates, and should be condemned to perpetual exile, unless recalled by the common consent of the king, prelates, and lords in parliament. The malcontents, conscious of the illegality of their proceedings, demanded a

Walsing.

M. W. Cont.

pardon

pardon and indemnity, which was granted in the most ample form, and confirmed in parliament. The sentence against the D'Espensers was published: the elder continued abroad, and the younger committed piracies at sea; while the barons returned to their homes, though they still kept themselves in a posture of defence.

The king had not digested this affront and violence offered to his person and prerogative; when his resentment was still more inflamed by a fresh insult upon his royal dignity. The queen, in a journey of devotion to Canterbury, sent her officers to demand lodging at the castle of Ledes, belonging to Bartholomew Badlesmere, who had been under manifold obligations to Edward, but had lately abandoned his interest, and joined the discontented barons. He was not himself in the castle; but his wife refused admittance to the queen, or any person whatever, without an order from her husband; and told the domestics they might go and provide lodging for their mistress in some other place; for they should not enter her castle. The queen went in person to the gate, and not only met with a repulse, but saw six of her attendants killed by the garrison. Incensed at this outrage, she complained to the king, and demanded reparation for the affront she had undergone. Edward readily entered into her resentment, and assembling a body of forces, invested the castle, which was well provided with all necessaries to sustain a siege. The barons of the Welsh Marches advanced as far as Kingston in their way to the relief of the place: but the earl of Lancaster, who hated Badlesmere, refusing to send the succours they solicited, they found themselves too weak to give the king battle: then they proposed that hostilities should cease until a parliament could be assembled; but this proposal being rejected, they thought proper to retire. The castle held out until

A. C. 1321.

Rymer.

The king
takes the
castle of
Ledes.

A. C. 1321. their provisions were consumed, and then surrendered at discretion. Walter de Colepepper the governor, and eleven of his officers, were executed as traitors; the rest of the defendants imprisoned in different places, and the women committed to the Tower of London.

Mon. Mal.

The two
D'Espenfers
return.

The elder D'Espenfer, encouraged by the success of this enterprize, which seemed to denote such courage and resolution in Edward as he had never observed before, returned from exile in the beginning of November, and was very cordially received by his sovereign. The earl of Lancaster was no sooner informed of his return, than he loudly inveighed against his presumption, as well as the perfidy of Edward, upon whose promise, and even oath, his subjects could not depend. He summoned all the barons to meet him at Doncaster, and resolved to call in a body of Scots to their assistance. Circular letters were sent over all England, to spirit up the people to a revolt; and the castle of Warwick, belonging to the king during the minority of earl Thomas, was seized by the malcontents. The king, by proclamation, forbade all meetings and associations, contrary to law and the peace of the kingdom: the younger D'Espenfer now returned to England, and presented a petition, complaining of the illegal sentence which had been pronounced against him, and offering to assert his own innocence against all accusation. He was committed to custody, and his estate taken into the royal protection, until he should have the benefit of a fair trial. His petition was considered by the prelates belonging to the province of Canterbury, assembled at London, who condemned the sentence as erroneous and unjust: then Hugh was set at liberty, and re-admitted into the king's council. Edward, finding himself supported by the earls of Kent, Richmond, Pembroke, Arundel, Norfolk, Surrey, Athol, and many other noblemen

Rymer.

noblemen of great influence, resolved to assert his authority and prerogative, by chastising the confederate barons. He reduced all the castles belonging to Badlesmere and his associates, in the neighbourhood of London; and having assembled a numerous army, marched in the middle of winter towards the frontiers of Wales, taking in his route all the fortresses possessed by his enemies. The lords of the Marches had seized the town and castle of Gloucester, burned those of Elmsly and Henley, and ravaged the adjacent country. The king passed his Christmas at Cirencester, then marched to Worcester, and from thence to Shrewsbury; but in his route a detachment which he had sent before him to Bridgnorth, was surpris'd and cut off, and the town reduced to ashes by the barons, who had drawn their forces on that side to oppose the king's progress. Nevertheless they found themselves too weak to hazard an encounter with Edward's army; and being afraid to coop themselves up in castles, lest they should meet with the fate of the garrison of Ledes, part of them submitted to the king's mercy, while the earl of Hereford, with the remainder, marched northward to join the earl of Lancaster. Of those who submitted, the two Mortimers were sent to the Tower; Maurice Berkeley and Hugh Audeley were committed to the castle of Wallingford, and the rest imprisoned in different parts of the kingdom.

A. C. 1321.

The king marches against the revolting barons.

A. C. 1322.

Edward having thus triumphed over all opposition in the Marches of Wales, seized into his own hands all the castles and estates of the rebels, secured the peace of the country, and ordered all the prelates to send their proportions of horse and foot to join his army at Coventry. In the mean time, the truce with Scotland being expired, Thomas Randolph earl of Murray, and the lord James Douglas, entered Northumberland with a body of

The earl of Lancaster is defeated and taken at Boroughbridge.

Mon. Mal.

A. C. 1322. forces, and advancing to Corbridge, desolated the whole country. This incursion is said to have been made at the desire of the earl of Lancaster, who sent John de Mowbray, and Roger de Clifford, to conclude a formal treaty between Robert de Brus and the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, with their allies. This confederacy being established, the earl of Hereford invested the castle of Tykehill, belonging to the crown; but the king advancing to the relief of the place, he raised the siege, and joining Lancaster, took post at Burton upon Trent, to prevent Edward's crossing the river. They took possession of the bridge, which they maintained three days successively against the attacks of the royal army. At length the king forded the river a good way above the bridge, and Lancaster resolved to give him battle. For that purpose he marched against him with great confidence and alacrity; but when he perceived the great superiority in the number of the enemy, which amounted to thirty thousand, his heart failed him, and he retired northwards with great precipitation. Robert lord Holland coming up with a reinforcement of five hundred men to the earl immediately after his retreat, and concluding he was defeated and taken, submitted to the king, and was sent prisoner to Dover. The castles of Kenilworth and Tutbury surrendered at discretion; and the earls of Kent and Surrey pursued the fugitives to Pontefract castle, belonging to the earl of Lancaster, who threw in a reinforcement, and continued his flight in hope of finding refuge in the Scottish army: but when he reached Borough-bridge he found Sir Simon Warde, and Sir Andrew de Harcla, governors of York and Carlisle, ready to oppose his passage, at the head of an army which they had raised for that purpose by his majesty's order. Lancaster and Hereford finding themselves thus hemmed in between two bodies of the enemy,
resolved

resolved to force the bridge before their pursuers should come up: and, though they miscarried in their attempt, Hereford and his men forded the river; but he was slain before he could mount his horse on the other side, and his followers repulsed, with Roger de Clifford, who retired into the town very dangerously wounded. Lancaster endeavoured to pass at another ford; but finding it guarded by the enemy, he attempted to bribe Harcla to connive at his passage. That officer rejecting his offers with disdain, he concluded a truce with him till next morning, and returned to Borough bridge; instead of making a bold effort to repel the enemy, to whom he was greatly superior in number. Harcla was joined in the night by the sheriff of Yorkshire, and entering the town early in the morning took Lancaster, with above a hundred barons, bannerets, and knights, without the least resistance. Besides these, a great number of gentlemen were taken and conveyed to York: though many changed their apparel for rags, and escaped in the disguise of beggars.

Edward was now blessed with an opportunity of glutting his revenge against his most dangerous adversary; and he enjoyed it with all the triumph of a weak mind, that never harboured one sentiment of generosity. He proceeded to the earl's castle of Pontefract, which surrendered upon the first news of his misfortune; and sending for the prisoner from York, ordered him to be lodged one night in a tower which he was said to have built as a prison for his majesty. He was now forsaken by his popularity, in such a manner that his own vassals insulted him in the streets of Pontefract, through which he was conveyed to the castle. They reviled him in the most abusive terms, and in derision stiled him king Arthur, a fictitious name which he assumed in his correspondence with Scotland. In the morning

A. C. 1322. after his arrival, he was brought into the presence of the king, who upbraided him with his pride, insolence, and treason. A kind of court-martial being constituted by the earls of Kent, Richmond, Pembroke, Surrey, Arundel, Athol, and Angus, he was found guilty of appearing in arms against the king at Burton and Borough-bridge, and condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, as a traitor. In consideration of his being a prince of the blood, the sentence was changed into decapitation, and executed immediately after condemnation, with all the marks of disgrace, by way of retaliation for the death of Gaveston. He was mounted upon a meagre horse, without saddle or bridle, conveyed through Pontefract with a hood upon his head, to an eminence at the distance of a mile from the town; there he was ordered to stand with his face towards Scotland, and beheaded by a Londoner. The same sentence was denounced against Warin de L'Isle, William Touchet, Thomas Maudnet, Henry de Bradebourn, William Fitz-Williams, William Cheyney, Joffelin de Deinville, and the lords Mowbray and Clifford, who underwent the pains and penalties of the law without mitigation. The life of Hugh de Audely was saved, because he had married the king's niece: John de Boutetourt, John de Kingston, Nicholas de Piercy, John de Montravers, and William Tansel, escaped to the continent. The lord Badlesmere, and Bertram de Ashburnham, were drawn, hanged, and quartered at Canterbury. Sir T. Colepepper suffered the same death at Winchelsey; John Giffard and Sir Roger Elmestbruge were executed at Gloucester; Stephen Barret at Swanefeye; William Fleming at Cardiff, H. de Tyeyes at London; Sir Francis Aldenham at Windsor, and others at different places of the kingdom. This hecatomb being devoted to the vengeance of the king and his ministers, the earl of

Pembroke

He is be-headed, and his adherents die the death of traitors.

Walsing.
M West.
Mon Mal.

Ireland.

Pembroke was gratified with a grant of the New Temple, which had belonged to Lancaster; the lands of Clifford, Mowbray, and Damory, were divided between the earl of Richmond and the bishop of Durham; the losses sustained by the eldest D'Espenser, from the depredations of the barons, were compensated by several rich manours; and the son not only engrossed a great number of the forfeited estates, but also extorted immense sums by way of composition from those who were pardoned. His behaviour on this occasion displayed such cruelty and avarice as rendered him more odious than ever to the nation; and in the end proved the ruin of himself and his master, whose favour he so shamefully abused. Before the action at Boroughbridge, the king had issued writs for a parliament to meet at York in May, when all the ordinances which he had been compelled to pass, were abolished; and the process against the two D'Espensers was revised and repealed. The elder was created earl of Winchester, and Andrew de Harcla rewarded for his services with the earldom of Carlisle.

Edward having resolved upon an expedition into Scotland, summoned his military tenants to meet him at Newcastle in July; and the parliament voted a subsidy for the expence of that enterprize. Every village was taxed at one foot soldier, and the large towns at a greater number, to be maintained forty days at the expence of the inhabitants: the barons, knights, and freeholders, granted a tenth; and the cities, boroughs, and towns of ancient demesne, a sixth of their moveables. Nor were the clergy backward in granting an aid for the purposes of this armament. While Edward was employed in making preparations, Robert de Brus, and his two generals Murray and Douglas, entered England at different places, and penetrated as far as Lancashire, where

Edward marches into Scotland.

Dugdale. Rymer. M. West.

A. C. 1322. they joined to ravage the country, from whence they carried off immense plunder by the way of Carlisle. The king having assembled a numerous army, and equipped a powerful fleet, the command of which was given to Robert Leyburn, a sailor of great courage and experience, he marched into Scotland, where he found the country desolated by order of Bruce, who had removed all his subjects, with their effects, to the northward of the Forth, that the English might find no subsistence in his country. Edward advanced as far as Edinburgh, without seeing the face of an enemy: and his fleet being detained by contrary winds, he began to be grievously distressed for want of provisions. After having wrestled some time with that difficulty, he pillaged some convents, and returned towards his own country; attended by Robert de Brus, at the head of his forces, who harrassed him in his march, and even followed him into England, intercepting his convoys and surprising his detachments. At length both armies engaged near the abbey of Bycland; and Edward being routed, escaped with difficulty to York: but all his furniture, plate, and money; together with the earl of Richmond, fell into the hands of the Scots, to whom the castle of Norham surrendered. They burned the town of Rippon, layed Beverley under contribution, ravaged the whole North-Riding, and insulted Edward under the walls of the city.

Walsing.

Harcla earl
of Carlisle is
executed.

The people of the three northern counties were so harrassed and exhausted by those incursions, as well as the palatinate of Durham, that they set on foot a treaty for a truce with the enemy; and it was actually concluded without the king's knowledge. Edward understanding that this affair was transacted with the privity of Andrew de Harcla earl of Carlisle, summoned him to court to answer for his conduct; and he disobeying the citation, an
order

order was issued to apprehend him, and the earl of Kent made warden of the Scottish Marches. Harcla by this time had deviated from his allegiance to Edward, either through hatred to the younger D'Espenser, or the ambition of aspiring at an alliance with Robert de Brus, whose sister he demanded in marriage. He had already engaged in a confederacy with that prince, and obliged himself by oath to maintain his title to the throne of Scotland against all persons whatsoever. They agreed likewise to certain conditions of a lasting peace to be observed by both nations; and as the terms were calculated for their mutual interest, resolved to compel the king to embrace them, should he refuse his voluntary assent. Harcla over-rated his own merit and authority, and was probably intoxicated by the honour he had lately received. He took no pains to conceal this transaction; and the articles of his alliance transpiring, were very well relished by the common people. But, in the midst of all his gay projects, he was taken by his own intimate friend Anthony Lucy, high-sheriff of Cumberland, and delivered to the king's justices, by whom he was tried for high treason, convicted, and condemned to death. He was degraded from his knighthood and dignity, and then drawn, hanged, and quartered, at Carlisle. The king, by a late treaty with the count of Flanders, had precluded the Scots from any farther assistance from that country; he had resolved to make another expedition into Scotland during the ensuing summer, and sent for the earl of Ulster, with a strong body of Irish forces, to assist in that undertaking. Nevertheless, he did not reject the overtures of peace, which were made in the name of Bruce, by Henry de Sully the French envoy, who had been taken prisoner by the Scots, and released. Conferences were opened at Newcastle between the deputies

Rymer.

A. C. 1322. ties of both kingdoms ; but as Bruce insisted upon being acknowledged king of Scotland, and Edward absolutely refused to grant him that title, because in so doing he must have given up his pretensions to the conquest of his father, a treaty of peace seemed altogether impracticable. A truce, however, was effected, to continue from March to Trinity-sunday, and afterwards prolonged for a fortnight ; before the expiration of which, the commissioners agreed to an accommodation, in the form of a truce, for thirteen years. By the articles of this agreement, it was stipulated that a free commerce should be carried on between the two nations ; but no other correspondence between the subjects, without a special licence from the conservators of the truce : that no new castles should be erected on the borders, nor old fortresses be repaired ; but that the truce should subsist between the two kingdoms, even though the king of England, or the lord Robert de Brus, should die before the term of years should be expired. This agreement was concluded at Thorpe in Yorkshire, by the earl of Pembroke and Hugh D'Espenser the younger, and confirmed with the assent of the king's council ; though the lord Beaumont dissented from the other counsellors, and was imprisoned for his contumacy. Immediately after this agreement, Edward countermanded the forces which he had bespoken from Ireland and Gascony, and laid aside all his other warlike preparations ; while Robert de Brus renewed his application to the pope for annulling the sentence of excommunication which had been denounced against him and his kingdom. His people had been so long used to war and depredation, that he found it very difficult to restrain them from infringing the truce by hostilities ; and in all probability he repented of having concluded a cessation for such a length of time, during which the martial spirit of his subjects would

Truce for
thirteen
years with
Robert de
Brus.

A. C. 1323.

Rymer.

languish and expire. He therefore resolved to rise in his demands upon England, and gave Edward to understand that the Scots expected the truce should be changed into a formal treaty of perpetual peace, otherwise he could not undertake to prevent their incursions. This insinuation produced conferences at York, in which the Scots demanded an absolute release from all subordination or homage to the crown of England, together with the property of all the northern counties as far as York; and the manors of Writtle and Netfield in Essex, which formerly belonged to Robert de Brus. They likewise proposed a marriage between the daughter of their king and prince Edward; and that these articles should be confirmed before the pope and the French king, by the oaths of English noblemen. These demands were rejected with disdain by the English commissioners; and Bruce finding his menaces ineffectual, thought proper to observe the truce, which he could not have infringed with any regard to his reputation.

The war with Scotland, which had produced infinite mischiefs to both kingdoms, was now happily finished, and salutary measures were taken for re-establishing the public tranquillity, by putting the laws in execution against those robbers and disturbers of the commonwealth, who had been encouraged by the disorders of the kingdom. Nevertheless, the nation was not freed from trouble and disquiet; for though the earl of Lancaster was dead, his party still survived; and the subjects in general were exasperated against the two D'Espensers, who by this time engrossed the whole regal authority. An enterprising partizan, called Robert Lewen, who had been inured to war and rapine, assembled a number of desperate people, and plundered the lands belonging to the earl of Winchester. He made an attempt to seize his person, but the earl

Attempt
against the
life of D'Espen-
ser earl
of Winche-
ster.

took

A. C. 1323. took refuge in the castle of Windsor; and the king sent the earl of Kent with a body of troops to his relief. Robert finding himself in no condition to oppose this detachment, retired at their approach; and being pursued from place to place, dismissed his followers, with a view to retire beyond sea with his wife and family. He was discovered at Southampton, apprehended and brought to his trial: but he refused to answer, and was ordered to be pressed; a species of torment which he bore without speaking, until death put an end to his torture. This was not the only attempt against the power of Winchester and his son. The Lancaster faction formed a plan for releasing all their confederates who were imprisoned in different parts of the kingdom, and seizing the castles in which they were confined. The castle of Wallingford was surprised by the friends of Maurice de Berkeley and Hugh de Audely, who were kept in that fortress; but the town being alarmed before their associates could be admitted, the place was blocked up by the militia, until the earls of Kent and Winchester arrived with a body of troops to reduce it by force. Then the conspirators despairing of being able to defend the castle, set the gates wide open, and fled for sanctuary to the chapel, from which they were violently dragged, and after trial executed as traitors. About this time Roger Mortimer of Wigmore made his escape from the Tower, by the assistance of one Gerard de Alspaye, a domestic of Stephen de Segrave the constable. This man being gained over to his interest, mixed a soporiferous medicine in the drink of the warders; and when they were fast asleep, conducted him to the water-side, where he hired a boat which transported him to the opposite shore. There his servants attended with horses, and he road directly to the sea-coast of Hampshire, where he found a ship, on board of which he was conveyed to Normandy.

Edward

Edward had scarce quelled the disturbances within his own dominions, when he was embroiled in a quarrel with the king of France. Charles le Bel, who succeeded his brother Philip le Long in the throne of that kingdom, had summoned Edward to assist at his coronation, and do homage for Guienne and Ponthieu. He had been amused with various excuses suggested by the D'Espensers, who were averse to a voyage into France, because conscious to themselves of having incurred the resentment of queen Isabel, who was a princess of that country, and had been insulted by them upon many occasions. At length Charles sent a peremptory citation, fixing a day for Edward's coming to Amiens, and served upon him a monition drawn by a public notary, as a previous step to the confiscation of Guienne, in case the summons should be still disregarded. The king being perplexed in his own mind, had recourse to the advice of parliament, which being called in the beginning of Lent at Westminster, unanimously resolved that he should not go over in person, but send ambassadors to demand further respite of homage. Adam Orleton bishop of Hereford being called to account in this assembly, for sending succours to Roger de Mortimer, and other barons, in the beginning of the late rebellion, refused to answer without leave of the archbishop and the prelates, who interceded in his behalf; and finding the council bent upon bringing him to his trial, carried him out of the court in triumph, threatening all their opposers with excommunication. The bishops of Bath and Lincoln had likewise been concerned in the revolt, and Edward desired the pope to deprive them of their sees on that account; but his holiness refused to proceed against them, because treason was not a canonical offence. Edward seeing no hopes of redress from the court of Rome, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, resolved to make use of his own pre-

A. C. 1323.
The king of France summons Edward to do homage.

A. C. 1343

A. C. 1234. rogative in the case of Orleton. A jury being impannelled at Hereford, found him guilty of all the crimes laid to his charge; then the king seized his temporalities, and left the church to take cognizance of his person. It was in this parliament that the king prevailed upon the nobility to agree that the lands of the Templars should be given to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

Walsing.
Rymer.

Rupture
with
France.

The earl of Kent and the archbishop of Dublin were sent ambassadors to the court of France, where they met with a very honourable reception; though Charles would not grant the request of Edward, until satisfaction should be made for some injuries he pretended to have sustained in Guienne. He had purchased a spot of ground in the Agenois, and built a town, the inhabitants of which, though under the jurisdiction of that dutchy, paid no regard to the officers of Edward, confiding in the favour of the French king, to whom appeal lay as lord paramount of the country. Ralph lord Basset of Drayton, seneschal of the dutchy, having for some time bore with their insolence and disobedience, at length marched against them with a body of forces, routed the inhabitants, and destroyed the town. He was summoned before the parliament of Paris to answer for his conduct; and refusing to appear, banished from France for ever. Without regarding this sentence, he took up his quarters in the strong castle of Montpezat, which was likewise the subject of a dispute between the kings of France and England; and expecting to be attacked, prepared for a vigorous defence. Charles insisted upon Ralph's being delivered up to him, together with the castle, as a satisfaction for the damage he had received; and the earl of Kent acquiesced in his demand: but the archbishop refused his assent, until his majesty's pleasure should be known: and while messengers were dispatched to England for that purpose, the earl proceeded to Guienne, to put that

that country in a posture of defence. Edward refused to deliver up his officers, and Guienne was invaded by a great army under the command of Charles count de Valois. All the English in France were seized, with their ships and effects, and a fleet was equipped for a descent upon England. Edward resolved to send over a body of troops for the defence of Guienne, and summoned all persons possessed of forty pounds a year to come and receive the order of knighthood, that he might raise some money towards defraying the expence of this expedition. He retaliated the conduct of Charles, in confiscating all the ships and effects belonging to the French in England, resumed all the lands, and the whole county of Cornwall, which he had granted to his queen, that she might not have an opportunity to favour the descent of her countrymen, to which the D'Espensers affected to insinuate that she was very well disposed. With great difficulty he equipped a fleet, on board of which he sent a reinforcement of seven thousand men for the defence of Guienne, under the command of the lords Seagrave and Fitzwaren; but before they arrived, the count de Valois had subdued the Agenois, and demolished the castle of Montpezat: La Reole surrendered about the latter end of September, and Puimerol and Penne were invested; when a truce was concluded till Easter, and afterwards prolonged to a month after Midsummer in the following year.

Du Tillot.

This disgraceful suspension and capitulation of La Reole were transacted by the earl of Kent, contrary to the sense of all the officers in the army; and are said to have been concluded at the instigation of the archbishop of Dublin, who was a secret enemy of the D'Espensers. Indeed the rupture between the two crowns seems to have been owing to the resentment which Charles conceived against these favourites,

The pope mediates an accommodation.

A. C. 1324. favourites, for their arrogance and enmity to queen Isabel, from whom they alienated the king's affection, taking every opportunity to mortify her pride and thwart her interest. Edward, notwithstanding the truce, continued to levy troops, and make other preparations for maintaining the war, which he resolved to prosecute in person: he gave public notice of his intention to cross the sea in the beginning of Lent; but by the advice of parliament deferred his voyage till the Ascension; and before that day arrived a treaty of peace was brought upon the carpet. The pope interposed his good offices, employing the archbishop of Vienne, and the bishops of Orange, to mediate an accommodation between the two monarchs: and the bishops of Norwich and Winchester, with the earl of Richmond and lord Beaumont were sent to Paris as deputies to assist at the conferences. Charles started a number of difficulties; but at the same time hinted that all obstacles might be removed by the presence and intercession of his sister queen Isabel. Both the nuncios, and even the English ambassadors, pressed king Edward by letters to send over the queen, who could not fail to bring the dispute to an happy issue: he agreed to the proposal, and Isabel embarked in March for her native country, where she resolved to continue until the two favourites should be discarded. Her husband, however, reaped but little benefit from her interposition; for in May a peace was concluded, on conditions that were by no means favourable either to his interest or honour. It was stipulated that Charles should be put in possession of Guienne, until Edward should have done homage at Beauvais on the twenty-ninth day of August; and then it should be restored to the right owner: that Edward should submit to the decision of the court of peers in France, in the dispute about the lands of Guienne, which were occupied by Charles: that

M. West.

A. C. 1325.

The queen
goes to
France.

that the prisoners on both sides should be at liberty, and a free commerce re-established between the kingdoms and dominions of France and England. A. C. 1325.

The article by which Edward obliged himself to go abroad to do homage, was extremely disagreeable to the younger D'Espenser, who was afraid of staying in the kingdom in Edward's absence, because he knew his enemies wanted such an opportunity to cut him off; and he durst not accompany his master to France, where the queen had power sufficient to execute any scheme against him which her revenge might project. These apprehensions had such an effect upon his imagination, that when Edward called a council at Winchester, to deliberate upon this article of the treaty, he could not help exclaiming, "Whosoever shall advise the king to trust himself among his enemies, is a notorious traitor." This declaration deterred the counsellors from giving their opinions on the subject; and for this reason a parliament was convoked at London, where the members unanimously agreed in advising his majesty to comply with that article; as no other expedient occurred, by which the total reduction of Guienne could be prevented. He therefore declared his resolution to cross the sea, and appoint prince Edward regent in his absence. He removed the bishop of Exeter from the post of treasurer, which he bestowed upon William de Melton archbishop of York, and set out for Dover, where he proposed to take shipping. Being taken ill at the abbey of Langton, he dispatched messengers to inform the king of France of his indisposition, and desire that another day might be fixed for the homage; and in the mean time letters of protection and safe-conduct were granted by Charles to the nobility and gentry of his retinue. The favourite was not more averse to the king's voyage than the queen herself, who foresaw, that

A. C. 1325. if Edward should come to France, she could not avoid returning with him to England; and by this time her affections were so entirely alienated from her husband, that she could not conceive any misfortune greater than that of living with him as his wife: besides, her resentment against the D'Espensers was implacable; and while they continued in favour, she had no reason to expect either comfort or convenience at the court of England. She had already laid a plan for their destruction, in concert with the English refugees at Paris; and among others, carried on such an intimacy with Roger Mortimer, as gave rise to reports that were prejudicial to her reputation. It was by her suggestion that her brother Charles sent over an instrument to Edward, declaring, that if he would make a conveyance of his lands in France to his own son, and send him over to do homage, he would rest as well satisfied as if it had been done by the father in person. This proposal met with a favourable reception from the D'Espensers, who were glad of any expedient to prevent the king's going abroad. And their advice being seconded by the archbishop of Canterbury, and some prelates that were in attendance, and perhaps favoured the queen's designs, the king made a formal conveyance of Ponthieu and Guienne to his son Edward, who embarked at Dover, under the tuition of the bishop of Exeter, with a large train of followers, and did homage for those countries to the king of France at Beauvais.

Edward conveys Ponthieu and Guienne to his son.

Rymer.
Ad. Murim.

Breach between Edward and his queen, who meditates an invasion of England.

Edward, in the whole course of his reign, had never taken such an imprudent step as this, of parting with the heir apparent of his crown. Young Edward was so carested by his mother, that she gained a total ascendancy over his affections: she interested him in her quarrel, and he refused to return when his father sent for him to England. The queen declared she would never revisit the island until

until Hugh D'Espenser should be banished the kingdom with disgrace. The revenues of the countries conveyed to her son, not only supplied her with the means of subsisting, but even enabled her, with the conjunction of young Edward, to take measures for an invasion of England, which she boasted of having planned in concert with the Lancastrian faction, who were ready to take arms in her favour. Her behaviour on this occasion was the more surprising to Edward, as she had parted seemingly in friendship with the favourite, and even writ kind letters to him since her arrival in France. The king solicited her in the most earnest manner to come home, and promised that her happiness should be consulted in every respect. He intreated the king of France to insist upon her leaving his dominions, and commanded his son to return upon his duty and allegiance. These intreaties proving ineffectual, he summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, and assist him with their advice in this perplexing situation. There it was resolved that all the bishops should write separately to the queen, exhorting her to return to her husband, and remove the occasion of scandal, which she had given by her familiarity with Mortimer, and connexions with the fugitive rebels, who had endeavoured to subvert the constitution. Edward himself renewed his importunities and exhortation with her and her brother Charles, and ordered the bishop of Exeter to bring back the prince with all convenient expedition. Isabel pretended that her life was in danger from the machinations of D'Espenser; Charles observed that decency and natural affection would not permit him to drive his sister out of his dominions; and young Edward refused to leave his mother in her affliction. The bishop of Exeter pressed his pupil to return; and from his attachment to the king was so odious to Isabel and her favourite Mortimer, who could not conceal

A. C. 1325. their correspondence from his notice, that they resolved to frighten him out of the kingdom of France. For that purpose a sham conspiracy was formed against his life. They took care that he should be apprized of the pretended design, which the honest prelate no sooner understood, than he retreated with equal secrecy and dispatch to England, where he made the king acquainted with the cabals and hostile intention of Isabel and the English refugees. Edward, thinking it was high time to prepare for this impending storm, issued orders for searching all passengers at the sea-ports, as well as for examining suspected persons all over the kingdom. The wardens of the Cinque-Ports and the admirals were directed to receive the queen and prince with due honour, should they come over in the vessels which the king had provided for their passage; but to treat all their adherents as enemies of the kingdom, should they attempt to make a descent in an hostile manner. Proclamations were sent into every county, ordering all persons to be ready to march against foreigners wherever they should land in the kingdom: they were enjoined to apprehend the emissaries of the queen's faction, and to put in execution the statute of Edward I. against such as spread false reports, tending to create discord between the king and the people. The king wrote a letter to the pope, desiring his holiness would not grant a dispensation for the marriage of his son Edward without his consent, but exert his influence in persuading the king of France to send the queen and prince of England out of his dominions; and lastly, he employed Arnaud Caillon, a Gascoin nobleman, to treat in his name with the nobility of that province, that the queen should receive no succours from Guienne.

Ad. Murim.
Rymer.

Isabel's
scandalous
familiarity
with Mor-
timer gives
umbrage to
the pope.

While Edward was busied in taking these necessary precautions, reports were industriously circulated to his prejudice, on the continent. He was
said

said to have denounced a sentence of banishment against the queen and prince; and it was afterwards rumoured in France, that he had caused all the subjects of that crown, who were in England, to be seized and put to death. Considering that his own son was at that time in the French court, and such a number of his trading people in that kingdom, Charles could not possibly give credit to such an improbable aspersion: yet, on this pretence, he ordered all the English subjects in France to be apprehended, to the number of threescore thousand, confiscated their effects, and renewed hostilities in Guienne. Perhaps the report was spread by his own emissaries, that he might have a handle for invading Guienne, and distressing the king of England, so as that he might be the less able to oppose the descent which his sister had projected. Edward being informed of these acts of violence, ordered his military tenants to rendezvous at Portchester, in order to embark for Guienne; and in the mean time seized all the French subjects who were in England, together with their ships and effects. This expedition, however, did not take effect, because the king found it necessary to employ all his power in the defence of England, which the queen threatened to invade. The pope resenting this behaviour of Charles, who had infringed the peace which he had mediated, and scandalized at the familiarity which openly subsisted between his sister Isabel and Mortimer, under the countenance of the French court, exhorted Charles to send his sister and her son back to England; and even threatened him with excommunication, should he persist in detaining them, contrary to all the rules of decency and good faith.

This declaration had such effect upon Charles and his council, that they would no longer openly countenance Isabel and her paramour. It was even

U 3

debated

She makes a descent upon England, and is joined by the most powerful persons in the nation.

A. C. 1325. debated among the peers, whether or not they should cause her and her son to be apprehended and conveyed to king Edward; and her brother sent her a copy of the pope's letter, with an order to leave his dominions without delay. Notwithstanding this affectation of candour, and obedience to his holiness, he certainly employed his interest clandestinely in her behalf; and it was at the desire of Charles that Robert d'Artois treated with William count of Hainault and Holland, for his assistance to Isabel queen of England. That prince's dominions lay very convenient for an embarkation; and his concurrence was secured by a contract of marriage between young Edward and one of his daughters. The articles of this alliance being settled, Isabel and the prince set out from Paris for Ponthieu; from whence she repaired to Valenciennes, where she was very cordially received by count William and his brother John, who dedicated his life to her service, and afterwards accompanied her to England; and as Edward, who was then just turned of fourteen, seemed captivated by the count's second daughter Philippa, the young couple were affianced, though the nuptials were not consummated. A body of forces being assembled, and a fleet of transports equipped, the queen and her son embarked at Dordrecht, accompanied by the earl of Kent, who had by this time declared in her favour; Roger de Mortimer, with some of the lords of her faction; and John de Beaumont, brother to count William, at the head of three thousand men at arms, besides a good number of infantry: and after a dangerous passage arrived at Orewell, near Walton in Suffolk, about the latter end of September. The earl of Kent was not only first cousin to the queen, by his mother Margaret of France, but he had lately married the sister of Thomas lord Wake, who had been a staunch adherent of Lancaster.

cafter. Kent's brother, Thomas earl of Norfolk A. C. 1325. and Mareſchal, eſpouſed the ſame cauſe for the ſame reaſon; and John de Bretagne earl of Richmond, who had been employed to negotiate the peace at the court of France, was debauched from his allegiance by the artifices of Charles and the caſſes of Iſabel. This was likewiſe the caſe with Henry lord Beaumont, who owed his whole fortune to the bounty of the king and his father. The firſt reſuſed to return, and his lands were ſeized; the other came back, in order to promote the queen's intereſt in England; but his proceedings being diſcovered, he was arreſted and impriſoned in the caſtle of Wallingford. All thoſe who had Knyghton. formerly joined in the faction of Lancaſter, were now ready to embark in the queen's undertaking; and all the relations of thoſe who had been put to death and forfeited for that rebellion, were eager to ſeize this opportunity of retrieving the honours and eſtates which their families had loſt. The arch-biſhop of Canterbury and the majority of the prelates were in her intereſt, as well as every individual who hated the younger D'Eſpenſer, whoſe insolence, cruelty, and avarice, had incenſed the whole nation. All the great earls abandoned Edward, except thoſe of Surrey and Arundel; the firſt of whom was now in the North, guarding the Scottiſh Marches; the king himſelf was weak, indolent, and timorous, diſpirited by this defection of his nobles, and diſregarded not only by his ſubjects in general, but even by his own officers and ſeryants, who neglected his orders, and allowed the queen to land without moleſtation. She was immediately joined by the earl of Norfolk, and the biſhops of Norwich, Ely, and Lincoln, with their followers; and at the ſame time ſhe received a ſum of money from the metropolitan for the payment of her army. The earl of Leiceſter, brother

A. C. 1325. of the late earl of Lancaster, and other noblemen of his party, assembled their vassals, and repaired to her standard with a very strong reinforcement. The presence and concurrence of the prince was worth a whole army to the queen, because it removed the terror of forfeitures, and afforded an opportunity for enterprising people to recommend themselves to his future favour, when he should ascend the throne. When the king heard of Isabel's landing, he issued a proclamation, offering a reward of one thousand pounds for Mortimer's head; and ordered his liege subjects to fall upon and destroy the foreigners by whom that traitor was attended. He granted commissions to array men in Kent, and all the counties in England; and Robert de Wateville was empowered to raise all the forces of Essex, and that country which constituted the old kingdom of the East-Angles. But he betrayed his trust, and joining the prince with all the troops he could assemble, became one of the queen's most active partisans. Isabel exerted herself with great industry, in writing circular letters to the noblemen and cities of the kingdom, and publishing manifestos, in which she declared that no injury should be offered to any person but the D'Espensers, the chancellor Baldock, and their abettors, who were the source of the present disturbances; that she was come to ease the people of their burdens, assert the liberties of the church, and reform the administration. The bishops employed their whole influence in the support of her cause; they magnified the number of the forces, and the quality of the persons sent over by the king of France to defend the rights of his sister. A report was industriously spread over all the kingdom, that the pope had absolved the subjects from their oath of allegiance, and denounced excommunication against all who should bear arms against the queen;

and these concurring artifices had such effect, that her army encreased every day, while Edward saw himself in danger of being wholly abandoned.

When he received the first intelligence of the queen's arrival, he demanded a supply of men from the city of London; but the magistrates evaded his proposal by a general profession of loyalty, and giving him to understand, that they should act contrary to their privileges, in serving without the walls of the city, except for a single day, so as that they might return by sun-set. Edward concluding from this dry, ambiguous answer, that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, and that his person was not safe among people who had never been well affected to his family, retired to Bristol, in hope of finding more zeal and attachment among the inhabitants of that city and neighbourhood. He left his younger son, and his niece, the wife of the younger D'Espenser, in the Tower, under the care of Walter Stapledon bishop of Exeter, who, together with those of London and Winchester, had published at St. Paul's the pope's bull of excommunication against all who invaded the realm, or disturbed the peace of the nation. Immediately after the king's departure from London, the populace ran to arms, seized the mayor, who was attached to Edward, and compelled him to authorise their proceedings; then they bound themselves by an association to kill and destroy all persons, without distinction of rank and circumstance, who should oppose the queen, or intrench upon the liberties of the city. Having formed this confederacy, they apprehended John Marshal, who enjoyed an office under D'Espenser, put him to death, and plundered his effects. Then they pillaged the house of the bishop of Exeter, who at that time was just returning from his seat in the country. Being informed of the tumult, he proceeded towards St. Paul's, in hope of reaching the Tower, but was seized

A. C. 1326.

Ad. Murim.

Rymer.

Walsing.

A tumult
at London.

seized

A. C. 1325. seized by the way, dragged violently from his horse, and conveyed to the great cross in Cheapside, where the furious mob severed his head from his body. His nephew, with one of his attendants, underwent the same fate; their bodies were denied christian burial; and the rioters sent the bishop's head in a present to the queen. Next day, they surpris'd John de Weston governor of the Tower, released all the prisoners, dismissed the king's warders, and took possession of it in the name of John de Eltham the king's brother.

M. West. C.
Ang. Sacr.

Hugh D'Espenser, earl of Winchester, is put to death at Bristol.

During these transactions, the queen had march'd to Wallingford, and detach'd the earl of Kent and John de Hainault, with the flower of her troops, in pursuit of the king, who was oblig'd to take shipping at Bristol for Wales, where he thought he should be able to raise a body of his countrymen. Hugh D'Espenser earl of Winchester was left with some troops to defend the town and castle of Bristol; but his garrison being disaffected, he was oblig'd in three days to surrender at discretion. Isabel, who had been join'd at Gloucester by the lords Piercy and Wake, and other noblemen of the Welsh Marches, no sooner heard of Winchester's being taken, than she march'd to Bristol, in order to determine the fate of that nobleman, who was by this time turn'd of ninety. He was brought before Sir William Trussel, whom she appointed chief-justice on this occasion; and he, in presence of the earls of Norfolk, Kent, and Leicester, Roger de Mortimer, the lord Wake, and others, charg'd Hugh D'Espenser with introducing a custom of condemning people without trial, widening the breach between the king and his barons, and advising his majesty to put the late earl of Lancaster to death, without cause assign'd, or form of process. He was for these crimes condemn'd to die the death of a traitor, and the sentence was execut'd with great barbarity. He was hang'd upon the common gallows, his body
cut

cut in pieces and given to the dogs for food, and his head exposed at Winchester. On the queen's arrival at Bristol, Edward was summoned by proclamation to return and reassume the reins of government, if he would conform to the advice of his barons. And as he did not appear, the prince was declared guardian and regent of the kingdom during his father's absence; the prelates and noblemen of his party took the oath of allegiance to him in that capacity; he appointed the bishop of Norwich chancellor; and the bishop of Winton treasurer, and took the administration into his own hands.

Mean while the unhappy king, accompanied by the younger D'Espenser, repaired to Caerfilly in Glamorganshire, where he summoned his military tenants in South Wales to rise in his defence. This order producing no effect, he embarked for Ireland; but, after having been tempest-beaten a whole week by contrary winds, he was obliged to land privately at Swansey, and took refuge in the monastery of Neath. From thence he sent his own nephew Edward de Bohun, fourth son of the late earl of Hereford, Refe ap Griffith, and two other commissioners, to treat with the queen and prince Edward. At this juncture he had very little to expect from a negotiation of that nature. The queen advanced with her army to Hereford, from whence she detached the earl of Leicester, with some Welsh noblemen, and a body of Marchers, to discover the place of Edward's retreat. This task they performed by bribing the natives, who betrayed him to his enemies: he was taken in November, with the earl of Arundel, Robert de Baldock, and Simon de Reding, in the castle of Lantrefsan; and Hugh D'Espenser was apprehended in a neighbouring wood. Edward was removed to Lidbury, and afterwards to the castle of Kenilworth,

A. C. 1326.

Walsing.
M. West. C.
Leland.

The king is taken, with the earl of Arundel and others, who are put to death; and Hugh D'Espenser the younger is drawn, hanged, and quartered.

A. C. 1326. worth, where he remained all the winter, in the custody of the earl of Leicester, who had by this time assumed the title of Lancaſter. Baldock, Reding, and D'Efpenſer, were carried to Hereford, where John, Daniel, and Thomas de Muchedeure had already been beheaded as friends to the king, who was now compelled to deliver up the great ſeal to his ſon, as guardian of the realm. Hugh D'Efpenſer was arraigned before the ſame judges who condemned his father, and underwent the ſame fate with uncommon fortitude. His head was ſent to London, where the citizens received it with brutal triumph, and fixed it on the bridge: but his eldeſt ſon Hugh, about nineteen years of age, defended himſelf ſo gallantly in the caſtle of Caerfilly, that he obtained an honourable capitulation, by which he and the gariſon were ſecured in their perſons and effects. Arundel was beheaded, Robert de Baldock, the king's chancellor and canon of St. Paul's, was claimed as an eccleſiaſtic by the biſhop of Hereford, who conveyed him to his own houſe, near Old Fiſh-ſtreet-hill in London, from whence he was dragged by the bailiffs and populace, and lodged in Newgate, where he died in great miſery. The multitude was by this time become bloody and deſperate. They plundered the treaſure belonging to the chancellor, the earl of Arundel, and a company of merchants called the Bardi, who acted as bankers to Hugh D'Efpenſer: Anthony D'Eſpagne, an opulent merchant, concerned in farming the duty upon wine, was dragged barefoot to a place called Nomenſland, where he was beheaded by the licentious populace. The houſes of John lord Charleton, Sir William Cliff, and many others, were pillaged; the eccleſiaſtical courts were all ſhut up; the mayor and ſheriffs durſt not hold their huſtings, or hear cauſes; the execution of juſtice was totally obſtructed; while anarchy, rapine,

pine, and murder, prevailed not only in London, but likewise in all the great cities of the kingdom.

A. C. 1357.
M. W. Cont.
Walsing.

The prince, as guardian of the kingdom, having convoked a parliament at Westminster in the king's name, the members assembled according to the writs, on the seventh day of January. The house was surrounded by the mob of London, clamouring against the king and his adherents; and the bishop of Hereford having declared aloud, that the queen could not cohabit again with Edward, without running the most imminent danger of her life, put the question to the parliament, whether they would be governed by the father or the son? The members were desired to consider the alternative, so as to give their answer next day in the afternoon, to which the parliament was adjourned. When they met at the appointed time, the few friends of the king were so intimidated by the tumults without doors, and the power of the faction within, that they durst not deliver their sentiments; and the same question being repeated, it was resolved that young Edward should be elevated to the throne. The lords did homage to him in consequence of this resolution: then he was led into Westminster-hall, and presented to the populace as their king: the archbishop of Canterbury harrangued the multitude on the maxim which saith, That the voice of the people is the voice of God; and the bishops of Winton and Hereford held forth to the same purpose. Silence being commanded, the prince was proclaimed king; and hymns were sung to celebrate his inauguration. Some of the bishops, however, scrupled to take the oath of allegiance; and were forcibly conveyed by the populace to Guildhall, where they thought proper to comply, and even swear to defend and maintain the rights and privileges of the city of London. But as young Edward's authority could not be established while

A. C. 1327.

Angl. Sacr.

his

A. C. 1327. his father continued unimpeached, the queen and Mortimer resolved to proceed to a formal deposition of that unfortunate monarch. Writs were issued for returning eight and forty members from North and South Wales, as the representatives of that principality; and this addition of Mortimer's creatures being made to the parliament, the bishop of Winchester drew up six articles of impeachment against the king, importing that he wanted capacity to govern the realm, inasmuch as he had been during the whole course of his reign misled by evil counsellors, to his own dishonour, and to the prejudice of the church and people, without giving ear to the advice of the greatest and wisest men of the kingdom: that he employed his time in pursuits unworthy of his character, and neglected the affairs of the administration: that by his misconduct he lost the kingdom of Scotland, together with lands and territories in Gascony and Ireland: that he distressed the holy church, by prosecuting and imprisoning churchmen: and that he caused many noblemen of the land to be imprisoned, banished, disinherited, and put to ignominious death: that, instigated by evil counsel and his own avarice, he had broke his coronation-oath: that he abandoned his people; and did as much as in him lay to ruin the kingdom: and that these truths being notorious, he was altogether incorrigible, and therefore ought to be deposed. These articles being read in presence of the prince, seated on the throne, it was resolved that young Edward should assume the regal power; and that the old king should be no longer stiled king of England, but called Edward of Caernarvon, the king's father.

Walsing.

The parliament resolve to depose Edward, and elevate his son to the throne.

When this vote passed, the queen acted an unworthy farce, in affecting to weep and wail, and even to swoon at the news of her husband's deposition; and young Edward was tutored to declare, that

that he would not assume the royal authority without his father's consent. On pretence of obviating this objection, as well as to give a kind of sanction to their irregular proceedings, the parliament deputed three bishops, two earls, the same number of barons, abbots, and justices, with some representatives of counties and boroughs, to go and notify their resolution to the king at Kenilworth. The three prelates visited him before the rest, and after warm professions of regard and attachment, exhorted him to make a voluntary resignation of the crown: they assured him of the most honourable treatment, in case he would resign, and gave him to understand that his refusal would be attended with the worst consequences to his family; for in that case the parliament were resolved to set the crown on the head of a stranger. The weak and irresolute Edward suffered himself to be persuaded by their remonstrance, and complied with the proposal; yet when the deputies entered his apartment, he was so much affected with his own disgrace, that he would have dropped down in a swoon had he not been supported by his attendants. He soon recollected his spirits, however; and professed himself deeply afflicted by the reflection of what his people had suffered by his misconduct, for which he asked pardon of all present; but seeing what was past could not be recalled, he said all he could do was to thank them for suffering his crown to descend upon the head of his eldest son. Then he formally surrendered the regalia, which had been brought thither for that purpose; and William Trussel, who acted as procurator for the parliament, did, in their name, renounce the homage and fealty they had sworn to Edward, declaring that they would not hold any thing of him, nor pay him any further allegiance. The deputies having made a report of this transaction at their return to parliament, the

Edward of Caernarvon makes a formal resignation of the crown, which devolves to his son.

Walsing.

A. C. 1327. queen pretended to be consoled, and the prince consented to his own elevation. The new king's peace and accession were proclaimed according to custom, through all England: he was knighted by John de Hainault, and crowned on Sunday the first of February, in Westminster abbey, by Walter archbishop of Canterbury, in presence of seven bishops, and almost all the nobility of the kingdom.

Immediately after the coronation a petition was presented to parliament, in behalf of all who had been concerned in the rebellion of Lancaster, praying that all sentences of banishment, outlawry, fines, ransoms, or penalties, denounced against them, should be repealed, and that they should be restored to their forfeited estates. Their prayer was immediately granted, together with a general amnesty for all offences committed by the queen's adherents, to the day of the coronation. The queen and Mortimer, not satisfied with having deprived Edward of his royalty, are said to have contrived a scheme for taking away his life. They perceived that a great number of those who joined them in their vengeance against the two D'Espensers, had no suspicion of their design to depose the king, and consequently were dissatisfied at that measure. They dreaded the compassion of the English, which never fails to glow even in favour of an enemy in distress: they foresaw a returning tide of affection towards the unfortunate son of their ever-glorious Edward; and they suspected the disposition of Lancaster, who treated his royal prisoner with great humanity. They therefore removed him from Kenilworth to Berkeley-castle in Gloucestershire, where he was committed to the care of Sir John Gurney and John de Montravers, by whom he was alternately guarded. These execrable wretches received the person of Edward from the earl of Lancaster, by virtue of an order, the nature of which has not been

been handed down to posterity: they likewise obtained a commission, empowering them and their attendants to enter and command any fortrefs of the kingdom. As they had been informed of a design to release the unhappy prince, formed by one William Aymer, and Thomas Dunhed, a Dominican, he was frequently moved about in the night from one castle to another, that his friends might not know how to direct their endeavours for his release; and, in the course of those nocturnal migrations, he was treated with the most barbarous indignities. His persecutors had hoped that confinement, and the violence of his grief and mortification, would have put a period to his life, as his disposition was fickle and impatient: but, while he continued under the care of the earl of Lancaster, he began to be reconciled to his situation, and amused himself in composing elegies upon his misfortunes. But this resignation, by which his health was confirmed, tending to disappoint the views of his enemies, the new keepers were instructed to harrass him with insults and ill usage. The miscreants executed this order with the most diabolical inventions and perseverance. They contrived horrid noises to prevent or interrupt his natural repose: they compelled him to eat of the most unfavoury and disagreeable food: he was lodged in a cold damp tower of Berkeley-castle, not only exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, but also to the intolerable stench of putrid carcasses, piled upon the roof of his chamber with a view to annoy his sense of smelling: the miserable apartment in which he lay was generally overflowed with rain-water; and he was subjected to the most provoking insults by servants and scullions, who were encouraged to treat him in that unworthy manner. All these circumstances of torture and chagrin are said to have been devised by the bishop of Hereford, who finding this method of proceed-

A. D. 1327.

Edward the
father is
barbarously
murdered at
Berkeley-
castle.

A. C. 1327. ing less effectual than he had expected, and dreading the consequences that might ensue, should it be reported to young Edward, resolved to anticipate such a discovery by the immediate murder of the old king; for which he contrived an expedient that was executed by his two keepers on the twenty-first day of September. About midnight they entered his chamber, while he lay asleep, and ordering the ruffians who attended them to hold him fast down to the bed, are said to have thrust a red-hot iron up his body, by such a conveyance as prevented any external marks of violence. They had no sooner perpetrated their execrable purpose, than presuming on the precautions they had taken to conceal the cause of his death, they exposed the body to the inspection of the public: but, though the skin appeared without any wound or blemish, the muscles of his face were so distorted as plainly to denote the agonies he had undergone: and a number of people, even at a great distance, had heard the cries and groans which he uttered while under the torture of assassination. Notwithstanding these presumptions, the body was buried without farther enquiry, in the abbey of St. Peter in Gloucester; and the regicides met with no other punishment than the detestation of their fellow-subjects. Thus perished Edward II. after having atoned by his sufferings for all the errors of his conduct. He is said to have resembled his father in the accomplishments of his person, as well as in his countenance: but in other respects he seems to have inherited only the defects of his character; for he was cruel and illiberal, without his valour or capacity. He had levity, indolence, and irresolution, in common with other weak princes; but the distinguishing foible of his character was that unaccountable passion for the reigning favourite, to which he sacrificed every other consideration of policy and convenience, and

at last fell a miserable victim. Yet his bitterest enemies never alledged that any thing unnatural entered into the composition of that singular attachment which he expressed for Gaveston and the younger D'Espenser *.

A. C. 1327.

* Edward II. by Isabel of France, had two sons, and as many daughters; namely, Edward, who succeeded him on the throne; John, who died at Perth; Jane, married to David Bruce king of Scotland; Eleanor, who espoused Rénald duke of Gueldres.

Edward endowed the Dominican convent at Langley in Hertfordshire with five hundred marks a year, to pray for the soul of Piers Gaveston: and he founded Oriel College and St. Mary Hall in Oxford.

M. Westmon. Contin. Walsing.

E D W A R D III.

Surnamed of WINDSOR.

A. C. 1327.
The Scots
invade Eng-
land.

THE parliament, by which young Edward had been raised to the throne during the life of his father, appointed twelve persons as his privy-council, to direct the affairs of the realm; and Henry earl of Lancaster being restored to the dignity of high-steward of England, was entrusted with the guardianship of the young prince. The sentences denounced against Roger de Mortimer were repealed, on pretence of his having been condemned without a trial; and he was restored to his lands and honours, to which were now added the estates of the earls of Arundel and Winton, in North Wales. Edmund earl of Kent received a grant of some lands and castles; John de Hainault was gratified with a considerable pension; and the parliament voted to the queen the sum of twenty thousand pounds to pay her debts, and the same sum as a yearly jointure, together with all the treasure of the two D'Espensers, the earl of Arundel, and Robert de Baldoc, the chancellor. As the city of London had been so zealous in effecting the revolution, the citizens were not only pardoned for all the robberies, murders, and misdemeanours they had committed since the day of the queen's landing, but they were recompensed for their services, with a charter confirmed in parliament, exempting them from pryfes, eyres of justices sitting in the Tower, talliages, and the seizure of their liberties for the personal transgressions of their magistrates. They were indulged with a grant of the borough of Southwark, and all the goods of felons adjudged within the liberties of
the

Dugdale.
Rymcr.



EDWARD III.



the city. They were invested with the privilege of being assessed in common with the freeholders of the counties; and not like other cities and boroughs; they were discharged from all obligations to serve in war without the city; and their mayor was ranked as one of the justices, in every commission for the goal delivery of Newgate. Immediately after the coronation, all the French subjects, who had been apprehended in England, were released; and as Charles the French king had begun the war solely with a view to favour the designs of his sister, that purpose being now fully answered, hostilities ceased in Guienne, and a peace was concluded without any difficulty. The Scots, who had no connexion either with Isabel or Edward, resolved to take the advantage of the troubles that distracted England; and without regarding the truce, attempted to surprize the castle of Norham, where, however, their endeavours miscarried, through the vigilance of Sir Robert Mannours, the governor of that fortress. The council, apprised of these hostilities, sent ambassadors to Robert de Brus, to complain of the infraction of the truce, and treat about a final pacification. That active prince paid very little regard to their remonstrance, and plainly told them he would not let slip such a favourable opportunity of annoying the inveterate enemies of his country. He even sent a solemn defiance to the court of England, threatening an immediate invasion, which the ministry hoped to prevent by a proposal for appointing commissioners to meet on the Marches, and deliberate on the articles of a lasting treaty. Robert assented to the proposal, but at the same time persisted in his resolution to invade the northern counties; and Thomas Randolf earl of Murray, and the lord Douglas, assembled a strong body of forces for that expedition. In order to oppose this threatened incursion, the military tenants of the

A. C. 1327. crown were ordered to rendezvous at Newcastle upon Tyne, on the eighteenth day of May: The fleet of the Cinque-Ports were directed to sail to the northward; commissions were issued for arraying men in London, and all the other cities of the kingdom, as well as for raising the posse of Yorkshire; and the chief command of the army was vested in the earls of Kent and Lancaster.

Rymer.
Rot Scot.

Edward
marches
against them
without
effect.

Edward, even at this early age, discovered that martial disposition for which he was so renowned in the sequel. He sent John de Hainault abroad to enlist a body of foreign troops; and that nobleman joined him at York in the month of May, with five hundred knights, and three times that number of horsemen completely armed. These strangers were caressed in such a manner by the queen and her son, as arozed the jealousy of the English; a quarrel breaking out between the two nations, the English archers and the Hainaulters engaged each other with great fury, and a good many were slain on both sides. The foreigners, exasperated at the loss they had sustained in this encounter, sallied out from their quarters in great numbers, and slew about three hundred of the archers belonging to Lincolnshire, and the county of Northampton; and the English, incensed in their turn at this outrage, assembled next day to the number of six thousand, determined to sacrifice the aggressors to their revenge. It was not without great difficulty that a battle was prevented, by the interposition of the king himself, who ordered the archers to remove to other quarters, and appointed guards for the security of the foreigners. This disturbance being quelled, Edward advanced from York to Durham, where he was joined by all his forces, and received intelligence that the Scots, to the number of twenty thousand, had passed the Tyne, and ravaged the eastern parts of the bishopric. He resolved to in-

tercept them in their retreat, and for that purpose divided his army, consisting of threescore thousand men, into three bodies, besides an advanced guard of four thousand horse, which were directed to clear the way and detain the enemy by skirmishing, until the army should come up and give them battle. He began his march in the middle of July, in quest of the Scottish army, which he supposed to be somewhere between Durham and Carlisle; but after his troops had undergone abundance of fatigue in their route, through mountains, woods, and morasses, he could perceive no signs of the enemy, but the smoking ruins of villages which they had set on fire. He then changed his route towards the Tyne, leaving behind all his carriages, tents, and provisions, that the troops might not be encumbered in their march: at length they arrived at the place where the Scots had passed the river; and as it was natural to suppose they would return the same way, Edward took possession of the ground on the northern side of the Tyne, where he continued five or six days, not a little incommoded for want of cover and subsistence. The Scots, informed of his motions, recalled their pillaging parties, and posted themselves in an advantageous situation, where they proposed to remain until they should receive more certain advice of his strength and destination. Mean while the king decamped, and marching down the river, proclaimed that whoever should discover the place where the Scots were posted might expect the honour of knighthood, and lands to the value of one hundred pounds a year, by way of recompence. On the third day after this proclamation, he received the welcome tidings from Thomas de Rokeby, who, encouraged by the promise of honour and reward, had made excursions in the neighbourhood, and found the Scots encamped, at the distance of three miles, on the other side of the river Were,

A. C. 1327. that washed the foot of an high hill on which they were very advantageously encamped. He had approached so near before he could discover them that he was taken prisoner; and owning the motive which had induced him to go thither, the Scottish general set him at liberty without ransom, desiring him to tell Edward they were ready to give him battle. The king having refreshed his army advanced against the enemy, whom he saw already ranged in order of battle upon the declivity of the mountain: but the Were was so encumbered with great stones, and the current so rapid after the late rains, that the English could not pass with any prospect of advantage; and the Scots had no intention to cross the river. Edward, impatient of this obstruction, sent a herald to tell the enemy, that if they were really inclined to hazard an engagement, he would either retire at a distance, and allow them to pass the Were unmolested; or if they would retire to a proper distance, he would cross that river, and give them battle. The Scottish generals rejected his proposal; and gave him to understand, that in such a case they should not be so unwise as to follow an enemy's advice. Thus the two armies faced each other for three days successively; and the king, who occupied the north side of the river, resolved to starve them into a battle or surrender; for he had received intimation that all their salt and oatmeal was consumed, and they had no bread for their subsistence. This was really the case; they foresaw the inconveniences of their situation, and decamping at midnight marched some miles higher up the river, and took possession of another mountain flanked by a wood, near Stanhope-Park, in the bishopric of Durham. The English were no sooner apprised of their retreat, than they followed them, still keeping on the north side of the river, and encamped on another mountain opposite to that which they had occupied,

occupied. While they remained in this situation, the lord Douglas, with a detachment of two hundred horse, forded the river a considerable way above the armies, and entering the English camp in the night, penetrated as far as the royal tent, with a view to surprize and carry off the king: but the chaplain and chamberlain alarming the guards and foreign horse, who lay on their arms ready for engagement, Douglas was surrounded immediately, and escaped with great difficulty, by cutting his way through those who opposed his retreat. Several skirmishes happened between parties of both armies, and many feats of chivalry were performed by single champions, who were ambitious of signalizing their valour under the eyes of their commanders. At length the Scots resolved to retire to their own country; and an accident favoured their retreat. A certain knight belonging to their army, being taken prisoner and examined before Edward and his council, declared that the Scots had received orders to be ready armed at night, and to march under the banner of Douglas. The English concluding, from the enterprizing genius of that general, that he intended to attack them in the dark, resolved to give him a warm reception; and for that purpose the army being drawn up in order of battle, stood all night under arms. While the enemy retiring in silence under covert of the adjoining wood, and passing a large morass upon hurdles, directed their march towards Carlisle with such expedition, that they had made considerable progress before morning, when the scouts brought intelligence of their departure; and next day they returned to their own country, with all the booty they had taken. Edward was exceedingly mortified to be thus baffled in his first campaign. When he went to view the Scottish camp, he saw three hundred raw skins of cattle and deer fixed upon stakes over fires, by way
of

A. C. 1327. of kettles, in which they boiled their meat, a thousand wooden spits loaded with beef, ten thousand pair of shoes made of undressed leather, and five English prisoners with their legs broken, whom they had fastened to trees, that they might not be able to give intelligence of their retreat. The king, tho' piqued at his own disappointment, could not help admiring the conduct and frugality of the enemy. Their stragglers were intercepted and cut in pieces by a body of horse; then he retired to Durham, from whence he proceeded to York, where the best part of his forces was dismissed.

Leland.
Knyghton.
Froissart.
Rymer.

He espouſes
Philippa,
daughter of
the count of
Holland.

It was on his return from this expedition that he heard of his father's death, which he lamented with great ſincerity of affliction. A parliament had been called at Lincoln, to procure a ſubſidy for carrying on the Scottiſh war, in caſe the treaty ſhould not ſucceed, as well as to defray the expence of the king's marriage with Philippa, daughter of William III. count of Holland and Hainault; for which the pope had juſt granted a diſpenſation, as the parties were in the third degree of conſanguinity. The clergy deſiring longer time to conſider of the demanded ſupply, the ſeſſion broke up without having tranſacted any buſineſs; and another parliament was convened at Lincoln in November, when a conſiderable ſubſidy was voted by the clergy and laity. The biſhop of Lincoln had been empowered to make a contract with Philippa, in *verbis de præſenti*; and ſhe was conducted into England by her uncle John de Hainault in December, with a very honourable train of attendants. As ſhe approached London, the mayor and aldermen went forth to meet her in their formalities, expreſſed their regard in a preſent of plate; and ſhe was received in the city by a ſolemn proceſſion of the clergy. From thence ſhe ſet out for York, where the king at that time reſided, and where the nuptials were ſolemnized

solemnized with great magnificence; and in February the ceremony of her coronation was performed. A. C. 1327.

M. West. C.

Mean while the English and Scottish commissioners opened their conferences at Newcastle; and both parties being very desirous of peace, the discussion of the articles was attended with no difficulty. Mortimer, who had nominated his own adherents as deputies on this occasion, thought he could not take a wiser step than that of securing the favour of Scotland, where he might find an asylum, in case he should be prosecuted like Gaveston and the D'Espensers; a misfortune he partly foresaw from the hatred of the English nation, which he had already incurred. On the other hand, Robert de Brus was now in the decline of life, labouring under an incurable distemper, and his only son being yet in his infancy, he gladly embraced an opportunity to leave him in peace with his neighbours; especially as lord Douglas, the nobleman on whose valour, conduct, and fidelity he chiefly depended, had by this time engaged himself by oath in an expedition against the infidels in Palestine. Though Robert was in a condition to demand favourable terms, he did not think proper to rest intirely on the merits of his power and character, but liberally distributed among the queen dowager, Mortimer, and some of the English deputies, part of that wealth which he had amassed in his irruptions into England. Besides, the lords Piercy, Wake, and Beaumont, who conducted the treaty, were interested in effecting an accommodation, by which they were restored to their possessions in Scotland, which had been confiscated during the war. All these circumstances concurring towards a pacification, the treaty was concluded upon such conditions as Bruce could never have expected from an impartial examination of the points and articles

A. C. 1328.

Disgraceful
peace with
the Scots.

A. C. 1328. articles in dispute. It was stipulated, that the kingdom of Scotland should stand for ever divided from England, by the same Marches that distinguished it in the reign of Alexander III. That Edward should for himself, his heirs and successors, release Robert de Brus of all obligations, conventions, and agreements made with any of his predecessors, touching the subjection of that realm; and declare all charters, deeds, and instruments thereto relating, void and of no validity: That Robert de Brus should be acknowledged as the lawful monarch of that independent kingdom; and that Edward's eldest sister Jane should be married to David prince of Scotland: That Robert should pay thirty thousand marks to the king of England, as an indemnification for the damage done by the Scots in their last irruption: That the subjects of both princes should be restored to the possessions which of right belonged to them in both kingdoms: That Edward should use his interest with the pope to free the king and kingdom of Scotland from the ecclesiastical censures denounced against them; and that he should deliver up to Robert the regalia of his realm, together with the original roll of homage, by which John Baliol and the freeholders of Scotland recognized the superiority of the English monarch.

Rymer.

A match
between Ed-
ward's sister
Jane, and
David de
Brus.

The articles of this treaty excited an universal clamour all over the kingdom; for some of them had transpired before the parliament convened to confirm the transaction. The people loudly complained, that the commissioners had betrayed the honour and interest of their country, in tamely giving up that claim, for the support of which so much blood had been shed and treasure wasted; and in consenting to a marriage between a princess of England, and the son of a man who had been treated as an outlaw and traitor to her own grandfather. A number of the prelates and nobility ab-

presented themselves from the parliament assembled at York, because they would not venture to contradict the measures of Mortimer, whose power was very formidable, and they were too honest to approve or countenance such a shameful accommodation. Nevertheless, Edward impowered Henry de Piercy and W. de Souche to swear in his name to the articles of the treaty; and the instrument of his renunciation of the superiority over Scotland, imports that it was executed with the consent of the prelates, lords and commons assembled in parliament. The king, immediately after this transaction, sent a letter to the pope, desiring he would annul the censures which had been denounced against Robert and his dominions; the princess Jane was sent under the conduct of her mother to Berwick, where she was affianced to David de Brus, and from thence conducted into Scotland; and the roll of homage granted to Edward I. together with all the records which he had brought from that kingdom, were delivered to the Scottish agents, according to the inventory which had been taken, when they were first lodged in the exchequer.

Carte.
Rymer.

Perhaps Edward, young as he was, would not have submitted to this inglorious treaty, which precluded him from gratifying his resentment against the Scots, whom he hated, had not his attention been diverted to more aspiring views, which more effectually flattered his ambition. Charles Le Bel, king of France, dying without male issue, Mortimer and the queen persuaded Edward that he was next in succession to the crown of France, in right of his mother Isabel, sister to the late king; and he forthwith resolved to prosecute his claim to that monarchy. As the queen of France was pregnant at her husband's death, he could not demand the succession until it should appear whether the fruit of her womb was male or female; but in the mean

Edward's
pretensions
to the crown
of France.

time

A. C. 1328. time he sent letters to the nobility and communities of Guienne, Languedoc, and Navarre, declaring his resolution to recover the rights and inheritance of his mother; and desiring they would assist his endeavours. While a new parliament sat for the dispatch of business at Northampton, he granted powers of procuration to the bishops of Worcester and Lincoln, to maintain his right to the crown of France, and sent ambassadors to form a league with the duke of Brabant, and the towns and cities in Flanders, which were then at actual war with Philip de Valois, whom the French first declared regent of the realm, and afterwards proclaimed king, when the widow of Charles was delivered of a daughter. This prince was certainly the true heir to the crown of France, as son of Charles count de Valois, brother to Philip the Fair. Edward, though nearer in blood to the last king, was excluded by the Salick law, which had never been infringed in the succession of the French kings; and his allegation that the force of that law was broken by his being a male, though descended from a female, contained a palpable absurdity; for she who had no right in herself could convey none to her descendants.

*Mortimer
insults the
parliament.*

Notwithstanding this objection, Edward was so agreeably intoxicated with the prospect of uniting two mighty kingdoms in his own person, that he would not desist from his pretensions, but summoned a great council of the nobility and clergy at York, to explain his intentions and title, and obtain their approbation on this subject, as well as their sanction of the peace with Scotland. By this time Mortimer was become so disagreeable for his insolence and arbitrary measures, that the noblemen and prelates were averse to every measure he proposed; and this assembly broke up without having come to any resolution. A parliament was therefore

fore convoked at Salisbury; and though the members were by particular writs inhibited from appearing with force or arms, on pain of forfeiture, Mortimer went thither with a strong body of adherents armed, in contempt of the prohibition. The earl of Lancaster, and other peers who were on the road to parliament, being informed of this suspicious circumstance, were so alarmed, that they proceeded no farther than Winchester: and indeed their apprehension seemed too well founded; for, while the bishops, prelates, and other members assembled in parliament, were consulting about the affairs of the nation, he went with a body of armed men; and bursting open the doors, threatened them with instant death, should they presume to speak or act in any thing contrary to his inclination. Intimidated by this violent outrage, they withdrew before any thing of moment was transacted; and the noblemen at Winchester thought it high time to retire without the reach of such an insolent tyrant, who had even pressed the king to march against them in an hostile manner. Such was the end of this session, during which the earldoms of Cornwall, Marche, and Ormande, were conferred upon John of Eltham the king's brother, Roger de Mortimer, and James le Butiller of the kingdom of Ireland.

Rot. Parl.
M. West. C.

Though a council of twelve persons had been appointed by parliament to advise and direct the young king at his accession to the throne, and the earl of Lancaster was entrusted with the care of his person, Mortimer wholly engrossed the administration, by virtue of the ascendancy he had gained over the queen mother and her son, who acted altogether by his direction. He distributed all offices of trust and profit among his own creatures; and squandered away his master's treasure in gratifying his own vanity, which was equal to that of Gavéiton. He held tournaments with great pomp and ostentation;

The earl of Lancaster, and others of the nobility, conspire against him.

A. C. 1328. ostentation; affected magnificence even superior to that of royalty itself. His insolence was such, that he treated his superiors and equals with the most provoking contempt; he persecuted all those who presumed to blame his conduct or oppose his designs; he rendered the king inaccessible to all but his own friends and abettors; and prevented the earl of Lancaster himself, as well as the members of the council, from speaking to him on the affairs of the nation. This nobleman could not without indignation bear the arrogance of such an upstart, which was equally disagreeable to other peers of the realm: and now seeing the freedom of parliaments destroyed by his late outrageous behaviour at Salisbury, they began to take measures for obtaining redress in another manner; they met in private and formed a confederacy for their mutual preservation. They resolved to call him to account for his crimes and misdemeanours, among which, they in particular specified the murder of the late king, and a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, in consequence of which it was alledged that the Scots had effected their last retreat from England. The new archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Mepham, together with the prelates of London and Winchester, embarked in this association, which was reinforced by the earls of Norfolk and Kent, the lords Wake, Audely, and other barons of distinction. They held conferences at London, to deliberate upon articles of impeachment against Mortimer; they resolved to enquire into the late king's death: to charge this overgrown favourite with the dissipation of the king's revenue, a treasonable correspondence with the Scots at Stanhope-Park, giving up the sovereignty of Scotland, and delivering the roll of homage, subscribed by the barons and freeholders of that kingdom. They likewise determined to demand a resumption of the forfeited estates and
castles

M. West. C.

castles granted to the queen-mother, and her minion, to the prejudice of the royal revenue, which was hardly sufficient to maintain the king's household in its usual splendour. A. C. 1328.

After having consulted on these subjects at London, which favoured their designs, they held a general meeting at St. Paul's, where they engaged in an association to procure certain ordinances for the good of the kingdom; and deputed the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, and the king's two uncles, the earls of Kent and Mareschal, to solicit the king's assent to their proposal. But these two noblemen were seduced from their party by the allurements of a court; and the two prelates endeavoured to effect a peace on the best terms they could procure for the confederates. By this time hostilities were begun by Mortimer, who had raised an army, surpris'd Leicester, and ravaged the lands belonging to the earl of Lancaster; and that nobleman had assembled a body of forces with which he advanced as far as Bedford against the aggressor. The court dreaded an insurrection of the commons in favour of Lancaster, who had acquired great popularity; and the Londoners having already espoused his cause, those who governed the king did not think proper to run the risk of a rebellion. After some disputes, it was agreed, that all grievances should be redressed, and all errors in the administration rectified in the next parliament, which, however, the king found an excuse to postpone. He had been summoned by Philip de Valois the French king, to do homage for the dominions he held of the crown of France; but as he did not chuse to appear in a state of humiliation before a prince whose competitor he was for the kingdom he possessed, he sent over ambassadors to solicit delays, on various pretences; yet Philip insisting upon his personal submission, he sailed from Dover in May,

A. C. 1329.

Edward does
homage to
the king of
France at
Amiens.

A. C. 1329. and did homage to the French king at Amiens, though not before he had made a formal protest in his own council, that he submitted to this ceremony upon compulsion, for fear of losing his dominions on the continent, and in order to prevent other calamities with which his refusal might be attended; but, that he did not by this act of homage intend to renounce his right to the crown of France, or to derogate from his claim, even though he should be obliged to sign an instrument to that effect. Edward was received at the court of France with great magnificence, and a cordiality of friendship, which they proposed to cement by a marriage between Philip's son John and Edward's sister Eleonora: a formal treaty was brought upon the carpet for this purpose, but never took effect. The king returned to England in June, about two days after the decease of Robert de Brus, who died of a leprosy, after a reign of twenty years, in which he had distinguished himself above all the princes of his time, for valour, fortitude, and wisdom.

Rymer.

The earl of Kent is beheaded.

Mortimer having conceived an implacable enmity against the earl of Kent, because he openly opposed the pernicious measures, and ambitious designs, which he daily hatched or put in execution, resolved to remove this obstacle out of the way of his arbitrary career, and laid a successful snare for his destruction. He employed emissaries all over the kingdom, to diffuse a report that Edward of Caernarvon was still alive in Corfe-castle, though visible to none but by particular licence. He knew the earl of Kent had always retained a warm affection for that unfortunate brother, altho' he joined the queen against the D'Espensers, without suspecting that her design was to dethrone her husband; and therefore he did not doubt that the earl would interest himself in behalf of the distressed monarch, could he once be persuaded that Edward was actually

ally alive. Such an uncommon circumstance could not fail of becoming the general topic of discourse; and Kent did not hear the story without emotion. He questioned Mautravers, and Sir John Deverel, governor of Corfe-castle; and they being tutored for that purpose, confirmed the truth of the report, which they pretended to communicate thro' friendship and confidence. Other persons of consideration joined them in this infamous deceit, and even proposed measures for setting the imprisoned king at liberty. Kent being thus deluded and trappaned, wrote a letter to his brother, assuring him he would use his utmost endeavours to procure his enlargement; and that the chief noblemen of the realm were resolved to employ their power and influence for restoring him to the dignity of which he had been so unjustly deprived. Deverel, who undertook to deliver this letter to Edward II. carried it immediately to Mortimer, who received it with joy, as the infallible means of the earl's destruction. A parliament was summoned to meet in March at Winchester; and there he proposed to make use of the advantage he had gained over his adversary. As he had been long accustomed to overawe and intimidate parliaments, few or none attended at this assembly but his own creatures and dependents; so that he found no difficulty in executing his purpose. He imparted Kent's letter to the king, with such comments and exaggerations, as prevailed upon Edward to write to that nobleman, desiring his attendance for some particular reasons; and, upon his arrival at Winchester, he was arrested. Some of Mortimer's adherents were sent to examine him in prison; and they made false reports, and produced forged confessions, calculated for exasperating Edward against his uncle. His letter to Edward of Caernarvon being read in parliament, he was convicted of treason, and condemned to

A. C. 1329.

M. W. Cont.
Conc. M. B.

A. C. 1330.

A. C. 1330. lose his head. Mortimer and the queen extorted a warrant from Edward, directed to the bailiffs of Winchester, commanding them to execute the sentence without delay : but they could find no person who would undertake the office of executioner, until a felon was brought from the Marshalsea, who performed the task, on condition of receiving a free pardon for the crimes he had committed. The king expressed great concern for his uncle's death, and caused his body to be interred in the dominican convent at Winchester ; and as that nobleman was exceedingly beloved by the people, his fate produced an universal clamour through the whole nation. Mortimer, who was cursed as the cause of his death, as well as of all the grievances of the nation, endeavoured to amuse the resentment of the people, by diffusing the report of a pretended conspiracy, to be supported by foreigners. The archbishop of York, the bishop of London, and several other prelates and noblemen, were prosecuted for treasonable designs, because they had expressed some satisfaction when they heard of the late king's being alive : the earl of Lancaster was arrested on suspicion ; several dominican and carmelite friars were imprisoned and sent into exile ; and proclamations were published in every county, commanding the sheriffs to take into custody all those who should presume to say that Edward II. was alive. These measures answered the purpose so far as to intimidate his adversaries, and gratify his avarice with the forfeited estates, fines, and ransoms ; but at the same time they increased that tide of hatred and revenge, which though pent up for a season, broke down all its mounds in the sequel, and bursting with double violence, overwhelmed him with destruction. Great part of Kent's estate he procured for his third son Geoffry. He obtained farther grants of the lands which had belonged to the D'Espensers

Kayhton.
Avelbury.
Rymer.

in Wales, where he wanted to augment the number of his vassals: he frequently exhibited tournaments and round tables in that country, and on the Marches, in order to dazzle the natives with his magnificence. He never travelled without a royal retinue; and in his whole demeanour displayed such vanity and ostentation, that his own son Geoffry used to stile him the King of Folly.

By this time hostilities had commenced on the frontiers of Guienne, between the French and English. John of Eltham, the king's brother, was appointed governor of that province, and a resolution formed to send him over with troops sufficient for its defence. The archbishop of Canterbury was directed to convoke a synod at Lambeth, that his clergy might grant a subsidy towards the expence of this expedition: but they rejected the proposal, alledging they were already overburthened by the pope, who had lately taxed them at a tenth of their benefices, and all the profits of vacancies, during the term of four years, to be equally divided between his holiness and Edward. In the course of this year, the queen was delivered at Woodstoke of her first-born son, who was baptized by the name of Edward, and lived to acquire unrivalled renown, under the name of the Black Prince. This happy event filled the nation with universal joy, and was attended with a favourable turn in the administration. The king having now attained the eighteenth year of his age, and finding himself a father, grew ashamed of being under the management of a tutor. The faculties of his mind began to open and unfold themselves. He felt the dawn of those talents to which he owed his future greatness; he saw the pride, insolence, and rapacious disposition of Mortimer; he perceived how much that nobleman was the object of the people's hatred and abhorrence; he could not be blind to the scandalous familiarity

Birth of the
Black
Prince.

The king
resolves to
ruin Mortimer.

A. C. 1330.

that subsisted between his mother and this favourite ; he repined at this family disgrace, and could not conceal his alienation from Mortimer. His disgust was no sooner known, than all those who had access to his majesty, vied with each other in explaining the particulars of his vicious life, and arbitrary proceedings. They expatiated upon the murder of the late king, and the death of the earl of Kent, as the partial execution of a scheme he had formed to destroy the whole royal family ; and Edward gave ear to these suggestions. The earl of Marche had so much engrossed the royal authority, and was so firmly established in the administration, that the king foresaw it would be altogether impracticable to assume the reins of government, until this usurper should be disgraced and ruined ; though this would be no easy task, considering that the whole power of the kingdom was in his hands ; that he was always upon his guard, surrounded by a body of knights, and other adherents, in arms ; and that he constantly employed a number of spies to watch the conduct of his sovereign. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Edward doomed him to destruction, and admitted William lord Montacute into his confidence. By means of this nobleman he imparted his design to others of the nobility, and they resolved to seize the person of Mortimer, during the session of parliament which was summoned to meet about Michaelmas, at Nottingham.

Clauf. A.
Edw. III.
Knighton.

Who is
taken in the
castle of
Notting-
ham, and
hanged, with
all his af-
sociates.

Edward intended to secure the castle of that city ; but the queen and Mortimer, who suspected his design, anticipated his purpose, by going thither before him, and taking up their quarters in it with all their retinue ; so that when the king arrived, there was no room for his attendants, though he himself was admitted, with three or four domestics. Mortimer had received some intimation of the plot that was formed against him, which however he purposed

sed to counter-work, by apprehending and confining in this fortress all those of the nobility whom he considered as his enemies. Mean while they were lodged about a mile from the town, where they had the opportunity of consulting about the execution of their scheme, without being observed by Mortimer; though it was judged impracticable at that time, without the concurrence of Sir William Eland, governor of the castle. He was sounded on the subject by the lord Montacute, and found zealous for the king's service; but he could not admit them into the fortress, because the queen had ordered the locks to be altered, and the keys were carried every night into her apartment. However, he suggested another expedient which answered their expectation. On the western side of the castle there was a neglected cavern, the mouth of a subterranean passage, which communicated with the castle; and through this he undertook to conduct them to the apartment of the earl of Marche. The scheme was approved, and measures were immediately concerted for its execution. The lords Montacute, Molins, Ufford, Stafford, and Clinton, with Sir John Nevil of Hornby, Sir Humphry, Sir Edward, and Sir William de Bohun, were the chiefs of this enterprize. These, and Sir William Eland, took horse and quitted Nottingham in the afternoon; so that Mortimer imagined they had fled, to avoid his resentment; but they returned at midnight, and entering the dark passage, which to this day is known by the name of Mortimer's hole, they arrived under the conduct of Eland, in the chief tower of the castle: from thence they proceeded softly to the chamber adjoining to the queen's apartment, where they found Mortimer, with the bishop of Lincoln, and others of his party, in close consultation, and took him prisoner, after having slain Sir Hugh de Turpliton, and Richard de Monmouth,

A. C. 1330. who drew their swords in his defence. The queen hearing the noise, and guessing the design of their coming, called aloud in the French language to her son, who she supposed to be at the head of the party, Fair son! fair son! have pity on the accomplished Mortimer. No answer being made to this exclamation, she started from bed; and rushing among the conspirators, earnestly begged they would do no injury to his person; for he was a worthy knight, her dear friend and well-beloved cousin. This exploit was performed with so little noise, that the people in the town knew nothing of what was transacted in the castle; and next morning the royalists seized two of Mortimer's sons, and several adherents, who lodged without the walls of the castle. Among these were Oliver de Ingham and Simon de Bereford, his chief counsellors and partisans. All the prisoners were sent to the Tower of London; and the king that same day published a proclamation, signifying that he had now taken the government into his own hands, and would redress the grievances of the people. Then he repaired to Leicester, where he issued out writs for a new parliament at Westminster; to which all persons aggrieved by the late administration were invited to explain their wrongs, that they might obtain satisfaction. At this assembly, held in November, articles of impeachment were exhibited against Roger de Mortimer and his accomplices. He was accused of setting the queen-mother at variance with her husband; of procuring exorbitant grants which impaired the crown-revenue; of embezzling the king's jewels and treasure; of conspiring to destroy his majesty's best friends; of obtaining pardon for two hundred Irishmen who had murdered the king's liege subjects; of extorting grants of soldiers from the knights of shires, and laying arbitrary fines upon the military tenants of the crown, for dispensing

Rymer.

ing with their serving in the war of Guienne; of assuming the regal power, and engrossing the administration; of insulting the prelates assembled in the parliament at Salisbury; of persuading the king to march in an hostile manner against the earl of Lancaster, and the other peers who had tarried at Winchester; of imposing excessive fines on that nobleman, and others, contrary to the capitulation of Bedford; of seizing the lands of the barons, and driving them out of the nation; of treacherously contriving the death of the earl of Kent; of removing the late king from Kenilworth to Berkeley-castle, where he was inhumanly murdered by his accomplices. These facts were deemed so notorious, that without examining evidence or allowing him to make his defence, he was voted guilty of high treason, and condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; a sentence which was executed at a place called the Elmes, about a mile from London, where his body hung two days on the common gibbet. Simon de Beresford met with the same fate; and the like sentence was denounced against Mautravers, Deverel, Gournay, Ogle, and Bayons, who had been concerned in the murder of the late king. These, however, had escaped beyond sea; and all that the parliament could do, was to offer rewards for taking and bringing them to justice. Thomas lord Berkely was tried by a jury of knights, for being accessory to the regicide which was perpetrated in his castle; but he was honourably acquitted; though he was committed to the custody of Ralph Nevil, steward of the household, until he should answer in the next parliament for the infidelity of his servants who had been accomplices in the murder. The lord Montacute, and the rest who had been instrumental in seizing Mortimer, were recompensed with lands for their services, and pardoned for the death of Turpliton and Mon-

Rot. Parl. 4.
Edw. III.

A. C. 1330. mouth; the fines and confiscations incurred by the barons who had appeared in arms with the earl of Lancaster at Bedford, were now remitted; the attainder of the earl of Kent was reversed, and his son retrieved the estate and dignity; and Richard earl of Arundel was restored to the honour and possessions of his father. All sheriffs appointed by Mortimer's influence were removed; all grants of lands, castles, and wardships, since the king's accession, were resumed; queen Isabel was stripped of her possessions, and reduced to an annuity of four thousand pounds; and some wholesome regulations were made for the preservation of the peace, the management of the revenue, and the exercise of the government in Ireland.

Rymer.

A. C. 1331.

The king crosses the sea to France, and returns in a few days.

During this commotion in England, Edward's affairs had been upon a very precarious footing in France. The count of Alençon had invaded Guienne and taken Xaintes; and though matters had been in some measure compromised, so as to put a stop to hostilities, the war was now ready to break out with greater fury. As various disputes subsisted between Edward and Philip de Valois, which the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns could not determine, the king of England imagined he should be able to remove all obstructions to a solid peace, by a personal interview with Philip; and resolved to cross the sea, on pretence of performing a vow of pilgrimage which he had made in some dangerous emergency, leaving his brother John of Eltham guardian of the realm. He took shipping at Dover in April, with a very small retinue; and in a few days settled the controverted points in an amicable manner with the king of France. Edward acknowledged that liege homage was due for Guienne; he agreed to pay the residue of the money stipulated in the treaty with Charles Le Bel, as due to that prince, for costs in the sequestration of Guienne.

enne. Philip granted a remission to the officers of the dutchy, who by that treaty were banished their country; he restored the town and castle of Xaintes, paid a sum of money in lieu of damages; and a treaty was brought upon the carpet for a match between Philip's daughter Jane, and the young prince of England.

Rymer.

The king returning to England, before the end of the month, summoned a parliament to meet in September, at Westminster, in order to consult them about a design which he had formed to visit Ireland, and reduce the rebels of that country. But he was advised to send over some able officer, with troops sufficient to re-establish the peace of that kingdom, and defer going thither in person until all the disturbances of England should be suppressed. Separate bands of freebooters, consisting of dissolute people and outlaws, habituated to rapine during the late troubles, had fixed their haunts and habitations in different forests, from whence they made occasional excursions, to rob travellers and lay the subjects under contribution. They were so bold and numerous as to set the civil power at defiance; and being protected by some of the nobility, became so insolent as to seize the judges on the circuit, and oblige them to pay ransom for their lives and liberty. With a view to deliver the kingdom from this annoyance, the parliament prohibited jousts and tournaments, which served as occasions of rendezvous to armed people. The lords were commanded to withdraw their countenance and protection from such lawless robbers and delinquents, against whom the king marched in person, with such success, that after having routed them in several engagements, he either killed, imprisoned, or expelled every individual of their gangs; so that the nation was free from such nuisances during the remaining part of his reign. As no other provision was made in the

Transactions in parliament.

treaty

A. C. 1331. treaty with France for restitution of the Agenois, but that of referring the dispute to the decision of eight French peers, to be named by the king of England, Edward now resolved to recover that country, even though they should decide against his pretensions: that he might be prepared for the execution of his purpose, he contracted an alliance with the count of Gueldres, on whom he bestowed his sister Eleanor in marriage; and received a large subsidy from the clergy and laity assembled in parliament.

Clauſ. 6.
Edw. III.

Edward Ba-
liol invades
and conquers
Scotland;
where he is
crowned.

Rymer.

The king of France being declared generalissimo of a crusade, by the pope, solicited the assistance of the European princes, and in particular pressed Edward to engage in the expedition; a proposal which the parliament advised him to decline, unless Philip would defer his departure until the affairs of Ireland should be settled, and England secured against all danger from Scotland, which now seemed to be on the eve of a surprising revolution. A bloody war had broke out in Ireland between the English government and the natives; and in another parliament which met in September, the prelates and nobility having taken the state of that kingdom into consideration, agreed that considerable succours of men and money should be sent over to strengthen the hands of the administration: a subsidy was granted for that purpose; but they opposed the king's going thither in person, because his presence was absolutely necessary to attend to the commotions in Scotland. Though it had been stipulated in the treaty with Robert de Brus, that the English barons should be restored to the estates they had formerly possessed in Scotland, several barons, namely, Henry lord Beaumont earl of Buchan, David de Strathbolgy earl of Athol, Gilbert Umfreville earl of Angus, the lords Wake, Fitzwaren, Stafford, Ferrers, Mowbray, Talbot, sir Roger Swinnerton, and others,

others, were still debarred of the benefit of this article. Edward had interposed with the Scottish regency in behalf of these noblemen, and was amused with evasive answers; from which he concluded that the Scots were resolved to keep the lands they had usurped. He had besides, another cause of complaint against them: they had seized the town of Upsetlington, which, though situated on the northern side of the Tweed, belonged to the bishopric of Durham. The king was not sorry for their furnishing him with an handle to renounce the treaty, which he looked upon as inglorious, and highly prejudicial to his right of superiority over Scotland, which he was determined one day to revive: but as he had promised upon bond to the pope, that he would observe the peace for the term of four years at least, he would not take any step by which he might run the risque of incurring the penalty of the obligation. The noblemen, however, whose interest was more immediately concerned, resolved to exert themselves for the recovery of their inheritances by force of arms: and without all doubt, they acted by the connivance of Edward. They had recourse to Edward, the son of John Baliol, who, at his father's death, had been left a minor, and prisoner in England. He was a prince of remarkable bravery, and a most enterprising genius; and him they encouraged to make an effort for the recovery of his father's crown. The conjuncture was favourable, on account of the non-age of David de Brus, the death of James lord Douglas, and the age and infirmities of Thomas Randolph, the guardian of the realm; and they promised to raise a considerable body of forces to maintain his pretensions. Edward gladly embraced the proposal, and they began forthwith to prepare for the expedition. Though the king of England, in order to keep measures with his holiness, published

A. C. 1332. lished proclamations for keeping the peace between the two kingdoms, and refused them a passage by land thro' his territories; they persisted in their operations with unremitting assiduity, and embarking their forces at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, landed in the beginning of August at Kinghorn. Sir Alexander Seton, at the head of the Fife militia, endeavoured to oppose their landing; but was routed and slain with nine hundred of his followers. Baliol advancing to Dumfermling, found a magazine of arms, which were given to those who joined his banner in Scotland. Then he proceeded towards Gladsmuir, where Donald earl of Marre, the new guardian, was encamped, at the head of a numerous army, while an advanced body had posted themselves on the other side of the river, to dispute the passage of the English. Confiding in their numbers, and the depth of the river, they lay in a very careless manner, almost wholly unguarded; and this circumstance being communicated to Baliol by one of his friends in the Scottish army, who at the same time discovered a ford at a place called Duplin, he passed it in the night with all his forces, and fell upon the enemy, who were immediately routed and slain in great numbers. The earl of Marre, who lay with the main body at the distance of some miles from the scene of this action, proposed to starve out the English without fighting; but Robert earl of Carrick, natural son of the late Robert de Brus, treating this proposal as the effect of cowardice, a dispute arose, in the course of which those ferocious chiefs challenged each other to begin the battle without delay; and they forthwith advanced against Baliol with the utmost precipitation, while their followers ran after them in disorder. Such was the confusion of this attack, that when they arrived in a narrow defile through which they were obliged to pass, men and horses tumbled over
one

one another; and they lay in heaps, an easy prey to the English; who made a terrible slaughter. The two impetuous leaders were slain, together with Alan earl of Monteith, Campbell the Scottish earl of Athol; the lords Neil, and Alexander de Brus, Robert lord Keith, William lord Hay, constable of Scotland; Alexander lord Lindsay; a great number of knights and gentlemen, and about thirteen thousand soldiers; whereas the loss of the English did not amount to forty men. After this signal victory, Baliol entered Perth without opposition; and finding it well supplied with provisions, employed his forces in putting the place in a posture of defence. This was a very necessary precaution; for the fortifications were scarce repaired when he found himself besieged by Patrick earl of Dunbar, and Archibald Douglas, who had raised a considerable army of hardy troops on the border; and, as they could not come up in time to prevent the disaster of Gladsmuir, now resolved to block up the victor, so as reduce him by famine. They in a great measure depended upon John Crabbe, a Flemish sailor, whom they had enlisted in their service. He then lay with ten well-armed ships in the harbour of Berwick; and they sent him orders to destroy the English squadron which was stationed at the mouth of the Tay, for the convenience of supplying Baliol and his followers. He accordingly attacked them with great fury; but met with such a warm reception, that all his own vessels were either burnt or taken; and the Scottish generals finding themselves disappointed in that quarter, as well as in want of provisions, while Baliol was furnished by sea, abandoned their enterprize, and dismissed their forces. The Scots in general, astonished at the rapidity of Baliol's success, and intimidated by the loss they had sustained, laid aside all thoughts of further opposition;

A. C. 1332.

Fordon.
Barnes.

tion;

A. C. 1332. tion; and he was crowned king of Scotland at Scone, in the month of September. Very few noblemen of the country assisted at this ceremony: but the earl of Marche, and Archibald Douglas, with those of the Brussian interest, proposed a truce till Candlemas; to which he assented, that he might have time to hold a parliament for settling the affairs of the kingdom. In this interval young David de Brus, with Jane, sister of the king of England, the princess to whom he had been affianced, was sent over to France, where Philip received them with great hospitality.

Buchanan.
Barnes.

He does homage to king Edward.

Such was the situation of affairs in Scotland, when king Edward summoned a parliament to meet at York, in order to consult his prelates and nobility, about the regulation of his conduct, touching this unexpected revolution. This assembly being very thin, it was adjourned till January, when the members having deliberated upon the subject, advised his majesty to consult the opinions of the pope and the king of France, who had already solicited his interposition in behalf of David, to whom his own sister was betrothed. They at the same time exhorted him to appoint proper guardians of the Marches: and keep none but trusty and wise counsellors about his person. One would be apt to think, from the nature of their advice, that they disapproved of a war with Scotland, as they did not mention the circumstance of his claim to the superiority of that kingdom, which he desired them particularly to consider. Perhaps, indeed, they thought it unnecessary to signify their opinions on that subject, as Edward had already taken his resolution. Before the meeting of this session he had an interview at Roxburg with Baliol, who did liege homage for the kingdom of Scotland; obliged himself to assign the town, castle, and shire of Berwick, in part of two thousand pounds to be yearly paid

paid to the king of England ; to assist him in his wars with a certain number of troops ; and to marry his sister Jane, provided her consent could be obtained, and her contract with David de Brus annulled.

A. C. 1333.

Rymer.

Baliol, after his coronation, leaving Perth to the care of Duncan earl of Fife, directed his march towards Roxburgh ; and in his route was attacked by Andrew Murray, whom he defeated and took prisoner. Then thinking himself secure in the submission of the kingdom, and the truce which had been concluded, he dismissed his English troops, and repaired to Annan, where he proposed to hold his parliament. The Brusian party, without paying any regard to the truce, resolved to snatch this opportunity of seizing him and his attendants ; and executed the scheme with such circumspection and dispatch, that Edward had scarce time to mount a horse without bridle or saddle, on which he escaped with great difficulty to Carlisle ; while his followers fell into the hands of the enemy, and his own brother Henry lost his life, after having performed miracles of valour in attempting to effect a retreat. The Scots under Sir W. Douglas, flushed with their success, made incursions into Cumberland, which they ravaged without scruple ; and this infraction of the peace afforded the king of England a plausible pretence to renounce the treaty, and declare for Baliol. Hostilities were now committed on both sides ; and several skirmishes fought on the border. Sir W. Douglas was defeated and taken by Sir Anthony Lucy ; and Andrew Murray, in fighting with Baliol at Roxburgh, advanced so far before his followers, that his communication was cut off, and he was carried into the castle.

Efforts of the Brusian party.

Buchanan:

Edward king of England having now no longer any reason to conceal his designs, complained to

A. C. 1333.

Edward be-
sieves Ber-
wick, and
obtains a
complete
victory over
the Scots at
Halidowne-
hill.

the courts of France, Rome, and Flanders, of the hostilities which the Scots had committed; sent ambassadors to demand homage of David de Brus: and this being peremptorily refused, denounced war against him as a contumacious vassal. He sent for reinforcements to Aquitain and Ireland; and appointed the rendezvous of his army at Newcastle upon Tyne, from whence he marched, in the beginning of May, to besiege Berwick, which he invested immediately, fixing his head-quarters at Tweede-mouth. The Scots had supplied this frontier with a strong garrison, under two of their bravest commanders, namely Sir William de Keith, governor of the town, and Patrick Dunbar earl of Marche, guardian of the realm. These leaders made such a gallant defence, ruining the works of the besiegers in repeated sallies, that Edward, after having made several unsuccessful attacks, resolved to change the siege into a kind of blockade by sea and land, in order to reduce them by famine; and in the mean time to penetrate with part of his army into the heart of Scotland, in hope of bringing the guardian to a decisive battle. He accordingly left the conduct of the siege to Baliol, and entering that country, advanced as far as Edinburgh, without any other opposition than that of being incommoded in his march by the detachments of Archibald Douglas, now guardian of the realm, who wisely avoided a general engagement. After a tedious and fruitless progress through a barren country, from which the natives had conveyed their most valuable effects to inaccessible fastnesses, he returned to Berwick, the siege of which he now resumed with redoubled vigour; nor could he be diverted from his purpose, though Douglas marched into England, and even invested the castle of Banborough, in which the queen resided. Edward knew the place was well fortified, and the Scots unprovided

with

with implements for a siege: he therefore considered the attempt as an artifice to draw him from Berwick, which he was resolved to reduce at all events. The Scots continued to make an obstinate defence, until their fortifications were almost intirely demolished; and then they demanded a truce of five days, on condition of surrendering the place if it should not be relieved before the expiration of that term. Sir William de Keith was furnished with a safe-conduct, by virtue of which he repaired to Banborough, at that time beleaguered by Douglas, whom he persuaded to march to the relief of the place: but the truce expiring before he could approach the English army, Edward demanded the immediate surrender of the town and castle; and Seton, the deputy-governor, starting some difficulties, he ordered that officer's two sons, whom he received as hostages, to be hanged before the walls, in sight of their father. This at least is the account given by the Scottish writers, which however is denied by all the English historians, who affirm that the Scottish army came in sight before the truce was expired; and therefore Edward could have no pretence for demanding a surrender. Douglas, with a numerous army, arrived at Bothville, near Halidowne hill, on Monday the nineteenth day of July, and drew up his forces in four divisions, commanded by the principal nobility of Scotland. The English were posted upon the hill, drawn up also in four battalions, flanked with archers, for which the kingdom was always famous. In this situation did Edward wait the attack of the enemy, who began to ascend the hill with great impetuosity about the hour of vespers. But they met with such a reception as in a little time checked their career. They were soon out of breath, in consequence of running up the hill in armour; they were terribly galled by the arrows of the English; they suffered se-

A. C. 1333. verely from the huge stones that were rolled down upon them incessantly ; and their general being killed by a spear, they fell into disorder and dejection. Edward perceiving them fatigued, broken, and dispirited, ordered John lord Darcy to attack them in flank, with a body of light-armed foot from Ireland ; while he himself fell in among them, at the head of a choice brigade of men at arms, and archers on horseback. The men at arms in the Scottish army had dismounted to begin the attack ; and now, when they might have made some defence on horseback, they found themselves deprived of their horses, by the lacquies who had fled with them from the field of battle. All resistance was now at an end ; the enemy was surrounded, and an horrible carnage ensued. Twenty thousand Scots fell in the battle, and in the pursuit ; and almost the whole nobility of the kingdom were either killed or taken. This great victory was obtained at the expence of one knight, one esquire, and thirteen foot soldiers, who lost their lives ; and the town and castle of Berwick surrendered next morning.

Hemiag.
Knyghton.
Barnes.

Impolitic
conduct of
Baliol.

The king punctually performed the articles of the capitulation ; granted time for the Scottish inhabitants to remove their effects, and permitted those to stay who were disposed to take the oaths to the English government. Patrick Dunbar earl of Marche entered into his service ; and, in conjunction with the lord Henry de Piercy, was entrusted with the guard of Lothian and Galloway. Edward having annexed Berwick to the crown of England for ever, and given orders for repairing the fortifications, left six and twenty thousand men with Baliol, to assist him in the reduction of Scotland : and disbanding the rest of his army, returned to the southern parts of his dominions. Scotland was by this time so weakened and discouraged by the loss of so many battles, and all the flower of the nobility,

nobility, that Baliol could expect to meet with very little opposition. He accordingly over-ran the whole country without resistance, and reduced all the castles except those of Dunbritton, Urquhart, and two or three others that were deemed impregnable. He then summoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, at which seven bishops, together with the English earls of Buchan, Athole, and Mar, the earl of Marche, Sir William de Keith, and Sir Alexander Seton, assisted. And here the charters of homage to the king of England, subscribed by Baliol, were solemnly confirmed; David earl of Athol, the lords Beaumont and Talbot, were put in possession of the estates to which they laid claim in Scotland; Henry de Piercy was gratified for his services with the Pele of Lochmaban, Annandale, and Moffetdale, which belonged to the earl of Murray; and grants were made to several other English gentlemen, at the expence of the Scottish proprietors. All the statutes and ordinances passed in the reigns of Robert and David de Brus, were repealed; and all the lands they had granted away reclaimed and restored to the former possessors. These measures, however just, were extremely impolitic; inasmuch as all the people thus deprived of their possessions, were rendered desperate, and became the implacable enemies of Baliol; and the Scots in general, who were violently interested in the glory of their nation, looked with contempt and detestation upon a prince who had so shamefully given up that independence which had cost them so much blood to maintain. They considered Baliol as an alien, and the son of him who first acknowledged himself the vassal of the first Edward; and their affection glowed in favour of the son of their great restorer. The resentment of his old enemies was not so prejudicial to his interest as the alienation of his friends. He was so im-

A. C. 1333. prudent as to disoblige the lord Beaumont, who had been the first author and chief support of his enterprize, and laid him under a variety of obligations. The earldom of Buchan, which he claimed in right of his wife, who was daughter of Alexander Cumin, was dismembered in favour of Sir Alexander Mowbray, who had some pretensions to a part of the inheritance. This person had been a violent partisan of the Brussian interest; but had lately abandoned his party, and made his peace with Baliol. The cause between him and Beaumont was debated in parliament: Talbot and Strathbolgy declared in favour of their countryman Beaumont; while the Scottish members espoused the interest of Mowbray. The dispute was carried on with great violence; and Baliol pronounced sentence in favour of the latter. The parliament immediately broke up in great confusion. Beaumont and Athole retired to their respective earldoms; and Talbot, in his return to England, was taken by a party of Brussians, and conveyed to the castle of Dunbritton. Baliol immediately saw his interest divided, and well nigh destroyed by this dispute; and conscious of his own indiscretion, resolved to reconcile himself to the friends he had disoblige: he revoked the sentence he had passed against Beaumont, gratified Athole with a grant of other estates, and promised to pay Talbot's ransom. This accommodation was too late to repair the mischief he had done; because his friends were by this time dispersed; and many despairing of his being able to maintain his dignity, had already inrolled themselves among the adherents of David. Some of the prelates and noblemen of that party had retired into France, and solicited succours from Philip, who renewed the league which had been made between his predecessor and Robert de Brus; and sent a body of troops, commanded by

Arnoul

Arnoul de Audenham, to assist them against Baliol. A. C. 1334.
 These succours, and the promise of further reinforcement, concurred with the dissensions among Edward's party, to elevate the hopes of the Brusians, and encourage them to raise forces for the restoration of David. The lord Andrew Murray, guardian of Scotland, who had been prisoner at Roxburgh, recovered his liberty in this critical conjuncture, and put himself at the head of that interest. He was joined by Mowbray, now disobliged in his turn at the repeal of the sentence, which had been pronounced in his favour: they invested the lord Beaumont in his strong castle of Dundurg, and compelled him to capitulate. The earl of Athole fled into Lochabar, but being close pursued, was obliged to submit, and take the oath to David, whose friends in a very little time made themselves masters of all the northern part of Scotland.

Edward king of England had summoned a parliament at London, to deliberate on the subject of an expedition he proposed to undertake for the relief of the Holy Land, in conjunction with other European princes; but, when he heard of this turn of affairs in Scotland, that design was postponed; and their deliberations adopted a more interesting object. They immediately granted extraordinary subsidies for the reduction of the insurgents in Scotland: the king forthwith summoned the military tenants, and resolved to pass the winter in the North, that he might be at hand in the spring to invade that country with a powerful army. Mean while he sent a body of forces to the assistance of Edward Baliol, who, thus reinforced, over-ran all the western parts of Scotland; and had well nigh taken Robert, the steward of that kingdom, a youth about fifteen years of age, the nephew and heir of David de Brus, whom he succeeded on the

The king of England penetrates into the heart of Scotland.

A. C. 1334. Scottish throne. He was lord of Bute and Arran, two islands which Baliol reduced: but young Robert escaped his search, and took refuge in the castle of Dunbritton. During these transactions in the West, king Edward entered Scotland by Berwick, marched into the heart of the kingdom without seeing the face of an enemy; and, in his return, received a letter from Patrick Dunbar earl of Marche, containing a formal renunciation of his homage. In all probability the siege of his castle would have been the immediate consequence of this defection, had not the operations of war been suspended by the arrival of ambassadors from France, sent to mediate an accommodation between the Scots and the king of England. A treaty was immediately begun at Gedeling, near Nottingham, whither the Scottish commissioners repaired, under the security of a safe-conduct; and in the mean time both parties agreed to a cessation of arms, to continue to the following Midsummer.

He agrees to a cessation of arms.

Edward over-runs all Scotland.

The plan of pacification drawn up by the French ambassadors, who were in the interest of the Scots, was utterly rejected by Edward, who resolved to treat with them in another manner. All the bishops, barons, and freeholders in Ireland, were ordered to contribute a certain proportion of men and money for the reduction of Scotland: the earls of Namur, Juliers, and Montbeliard, were engaged in the service of England; and directions given for equipping large fleets in Gascony and England. The lord justice D'Arcy brought a body of forces from Ireland, in six and fifty vessels, with which he ravaged the isles of Bute and Arran. The king assembled his army in June, and dividing it into two bodies, sent one to invade Scotland, by the way of Berwick, under the command of Edward Baliol, assisted by the earls of Surrey and Arundel, the lords Beaumont, Piercy, Nevil, Stafford,

ford, and Cantiloupe; while he himself, accompanied by the count of Juliers, at the head of his foreign knights, and the chief nobility of England, entered the enemy's country by the way of Carlisle; and a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail were ordered to cruise along the coasts of that kingdom. The Brussians were not so mad as to face these armies in the field. They retired, as usual, with their valuable effects to their mountains, forests, and morasses, from whence they occasionally attacked the straggling parties and detachments of the English; and the two kings met at Perth, after having ravaged the whole country through which they passed. While they resided at this place, the young count of Namur, in his march to join them with a body of foreigners, was attacked in a moor near Edinburgh by a superior number of Scots, under the command of the earls of Marche and Murray, and Sir William Douglas. The foreigners and their young count fought with great gallantry, till they were overpowered, and then they retreated to the rock on which the castle of Edinburgh had stood. There they fortified themselves amidst the ruins of the fortress which Edward had ordered to be demolished; but, as they were destitute of provision, they could not help surrendering at discretion. The earl of Murray, from a principle of romantic honour, not only dismissed him without a ransom, but also conveyed him safely into England; and as he returned from thence he fell into an ambush, formed by the garrison of Roxburgh, by which he was routed and taken prisoner. Edward continuing still at Perth, detached the forces of the four northern counties, under the command of his brother John of Eltham, and Sir Anthony Lucy, to reduce and ravage Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, where the interest of Bruce chiefly predominated; and a body of Scots advancing against them, with the earl of Marche and Sir Wil-

A. C. 1335. William Douglas, a very obstinate engagement ensued, in which the enemy were defeated with considerable slaughter.

Knyghton.
Dugdale.

Many noblemen of that country take the oath of allegiance to the king of England.

This defeat struck a damp into the hearts of the Brusians, who could have very little reason to hope for success against such a powerful monarch as Edward, who was already in possession of the whole kingdom, and numbered great part of the natives in his service. Robert the steward, and David earl of Athole, despairing of being able to maintain the war, sent commissioners to sue for peace, and make a tender of their submission; and the season being pretty far advanced, Edward, who had no inclination to spend the winter in Scotland, lent a willing ear to their proposals. The treaty was managed by Alexander and Geoffry Mowbray; and, after some debates, concluded on condition that the Scottish noblemen should have the benefit of a general amnesty; enjoy the lands, honours, and offices, in Scotland, and be restored to the possession of their estates in England, which had been confiscated; that the kirk, and boroughs of Scotland, should enjoy all their privileges and franchises; and all the offices of the crown and kingdom be bestowed on natives only, except in some particular cases, where king Edward Baliol might see reason to exert his prerogative in behalf of persons of a different nation. To these articles, signed at Perth in the month of August, Duncan earl of Fife, and others of the Scottish nobility, acceded: and some who held out till September, in hope of being succoured from France, seeing themselves disappointed from that quarter, submitted to the terms of the following agreement. They promised to obey Baliol as their king, during his natural life, on condition that David de Brus should succeed him on the throne of Scotland, and in the mean time be honourably maintained at London. They even undertook for David's appearance in the English parliament,

liament, to be held after Michaelmas, in London, to stand to the award of his king and his council: After this agreement the king convened the bishops, noblemen, and freeholders, of his party, at Edinburgh, where two instruments were drawn up, and sealed with the great seal of the kingdom, declaring that David's predecessors, kings of Scotland, had held, in antient times, their realm of the kings of England, to whom they had done homage, and swore fealty, as appeared by old records, and pleas of the crown. David therefore, by his letters-patent, expedited with the advice and consent of the three estates of the kingdom, in parliament at Edinburgh, did acknowledge to hold the kingdom of Scotland, and also the isles, of Edward III. king of England, by liege homage and fealty, as of the superior lord of the kingdom of Scotland; notwithstanding all, and all manner of releases, remissions, quit claims, and other letters whatsoever, made by any king or kings of England to the contrary*.

Andrew Murray the regent, and the greatest part of the Scottish nation, were not concerned in these transactions, but still continued to annoy the English, and the adherents of Baliol, with hot incursions and desperate attacks: nor did they yet resign the hopes they had conceived of being powerfully succoured by the French monarch. The king having received the homage of those who submitted to his sway, ordered the fortifications of Perth to be repaired, the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Bothwell, to be rebuilt; and leaving the earl of Athole guardian of the northern parts of the kingdom, returned to Berwick in the beginning of October. David Strathbolgy earl of Athole had been received into favour, upon his declaring that the fealty he

A. C. 1335.

Rymer.
Knyghton.

Carte.

Edward
agrees to
another
truce with
the Brus-
sians.

* This charter, contained in a chest minister-abbey; and is supposed by entitled Scotia, is to be seen in the old Tyrrrel, and other judicious English Chapter-house in the cloyster of West- historians, to be a piece of forgery.

had

A. C. 1335.

had sworn to David de Brus was the effect of compulsion; and, in order to manifest his zeal for the service of Edward, he marched at the head of three thousand men to besiege the castle of Kildrummy, in which the regent's wife resided. Murray was no sooner informed of her danger, than he assembled a small body of forces, and marched to her relief, accompanied by the earl of Marche and Sir William Douglas; and although inferior to Athole in number, gave him battle without hesitation, at a place called Kilblane, where David Strathbolgy was defeated and slain. The victors, encouraged by this advantage, invested the castles of Coupar and Lochindoris: and the progress of their arms in that part of the country contributed more than the intercession of the pope and the French king, to prevail upon Edward of England to conclude a truce with the regent, to continue till the ninth day of May, in the succeeding year. This suspension was intended as the prelude to a peace; and the treaty was set on foot at Newcastle, to which place the regent, with Sir William Douglas, Sir William de Keith, and Robert Lauther, repaired on the faith of a safe-conduct, which was likewise granted to six other commissioners of the same nation, deputed by David de Brus from France, to forward the negotiation.

Rymer.

A. C. 1336.

Philip of France encourages and assists the Bruffians.

Notwithstanding the professions of Philip de Valois, he was so far from being hearty in his endeavours to promote an accommodation, that his envoys, by his direction, started such difficulties as rendered the conferences of no effect. It was the interest of the French king to foment the war, that Edward, being employed at home, should have no leisure to execute the scheme he had projected for the support of his pretensions to the kingdom of France. Philip had publicly declared that he would assist his allies the Scots to the utmost of his power:

he

he had already sent over considerable supplies of A. C. 1336. men, money, and ammunition, with some officers of experience; and he cajoled them in such a manner, with promises of more powerful reinforcements, that their commissioners rose very high in their demands; so that the negotiations were broke off, and the regent waited with impatience for the expiration of the truce, that he might take the field and renew the operations of war. Edward was perfectly well acquainted with the complexion of the French politics, and foresaw that the conferences would prove abortive; he was informed of all the transactions of the Scots, not only at the courts of Paris and Rome, but also in several other countries, where they solicited succours with good prospect of success; and he resolved to proceed in his preparations, without depending upon the issue of the negotiation. He had, in two successive parliaments at York and Westminster, enacted several laws for the benefit of commerce, and some salutary regulations for the prevention and punishment of robbery and rapine; and his subjects, both of the clergy and laity, with whom he was by this time become extremely popular, cheerfully granted considerable subsidies for maintaining and improving the conquests he had made in Scotland.

M. West. C.
Rymer.

Thus amply supplied with money, he summoned his military tenants to meet him in arms at the place of rendezvous in the North, so as to be ready to enter Scotland at the expiration of the truce; and appointed Henry, son of the earl of Lancaster, commander in chief of the forces destined for that expedition. About the latter end of June he convoked a parliament at Northampton, to concert measures for defeating the designs of France, from which an invasion was expected; and while he and his parliament were engrossed by these deliberations, he received intelligence of the hostilities recommenced

Edward ravages Scotland to its most northern extremity.

menaced

A. C. 1336. menced by the Scottish regent Murray, who, as soon as the truce expired, took the field with a body of forces, reduced the castles of St. Andrews and Bothwel, and invested those of Stirling and Lochindoris. The king, alarmed at his progress, set out immediately for Berwick, where he was joined by a body of troops, with which he proceeded to Perth; and his arrival was no less welcome to his friends than disagreeable to the enemy, who no sooner understood that he was in Scotland, than they made a desperate assault upon the castle of Stirling, in which Sir William de Keith was slain. Being repulsed in this attempt with great loss, and informed that Edward was on the march to relieve the place, they abandoned that enterprize, as well as the siege of Lochindoris, and retired to their fastnesses, to avoid a general battle. The king advanced through Athole to Inverness, and from thence proceeded by Elgin through the shire of Murray, which he laid in desolation. The lord Beaumont, who commanded a separate detachment, put all to the sword without mercy whom he suspected of having been concerned in the battle against his brother-in-law the earl of Athole. The town of Aberdeen was levelled to the ground, in revenge for the death of Sir Thomas Rosselin, whom the inhabitants had attacked and slain on his landing at Dunotter; and Edward having made a progress to the extremity of Scotland, returned to Perth, leaving the country he had over-run a miserable monument of his vengeance. While he was thus employed in the northern parts of Scotland, his brother John, at the head of another army, marched into the western counties, which were the most strongly attached to the Brussian interest, and filled all Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cuninghame, with slaughter and devastation.

Fordun.
Monmouth.

Edward's return from this fruitless expedition seems to have been hastened by the accounts he received of the French king's designs and preparations. That monarch had by this time equipped a powerful armament by sea and land, for the assistance of the Scots, and appointed their young king David admiral of his fleet: under this youthful commander his navy scoured the channel, ravaged the Isle of Wight, and the islands of Jersey and Guernsey; and while he threatened a descent upon England, a strong army was assembled in order to invade Guienne. Edward, though he wanted to avoid an open rupture with France, until he should have entirely reduced Scotland, thought it high time to provide for the safety of his kingdom. He sent for a fleet from Bayonne, in Gascony, to come and cruise in the English channel; and though he could not prevent the preparations that were making in Holland, Denmark, and Norway, for the benefit of the Scots, he prevailed upon the states of Genoa and Provence to put a stop to the armaments which the king of France had set on foot among them, under the pretence of fitting out a navy for the purposes of the crusade. The king having taken these steps, repaired to England, and summoned a parliament to meet at Nottingham on the twenty third day of September, where some sumptuary laws were enacted, restricting the prelates and nobility to two courses at every meal, except at great festivals; and prohibiting all who did not possess one hundred pounds a year, from wearing furs, or silk of foreign manufacture: at the same time the use of foreign cloth was limited to the royal family alone. In consideration of these prudent laws, by which the progress of luxury was checked, and the English manufactures encouraged, the clergy and laity granted him a considerable subsidy, besides an additional duty on wool; and he returned to Scotland, where his pre-

A. C. 1336.

England is
threatened
with an in-
vasion from
France.

fence

A. C. 1336. fence was as necessary as ever. He had no sooner quitted that kingdom than Andrew Murray, at the head of the Brussians, took the field, and reduced the castles of Dunotter, Kinnef, and Lauriston, which he had fortified in his last expedition; and his brother, John of Eltham, whom he had left with Baliol to command his forces, died at Perth in his absence. The king arrived at that place in the beginning of November; but as Andrew Murray, at his approach, retired to the forest of Platen, where he remained during the whole winter, all Edward's military operations amounted to no more than burning and wasting the open country, and repairing the castles of Stirling, Edinburgh, and Roxburgh. It was at this juncture, that receiving advice of the depredations committed by the French fleet upon his territories and subjects, he empowered the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the earls of Surrey and Lancaster, with William Clifton, constable of Dover, to hold a great council at London, and concert proper means for defending the kingdom, and the coast, from David de Brus and his adherents: at the same time, he granted a commission to Geoffry de Say, one of his admirals, to equip a strong fleet, and assert his dominion in the English sea, which his predecessors had always maintained; and in particular to fall upon the galleys of France, should they move towards the coast of England or Scotland. He had attempted to compromise his difference with the king of France, in the way of negotiation; but now seeing the affected delays of that monarch terminate in open hostilities committed at sea by his ships, and in Guienne by his army, he resolved to be trifled with no longer, but prepare for a vigorous war; not only in putting his kingdom in a posture of defence, but likewise in strengthening his hands with foreign alliances. For this purpose he sent agents

agents to treat with the duke of Austria, the archbishop of Cologne, and the bishop of Liege; and empowered his allies, the counts of Hainault, Holland, and Juliers, to contract with such potentates as they should think proper to engage in his interest. In order to attach the duke of Brabant to his cause, he consented that a staple of English wool should be fixed at Bruffels; though such an exportation was very prejudicial to the manufactures of his own country, and diametrically opposite to his former policy, which had prompted him to grant extraordinary encouragement to such weavers and clothworkers of the Low Countries as should come over and settle in England.

A. C. 1336
Edward
contracts
foreign
alliances
with foreign
powers.

That these measures might be taken with the greater dispatch, he returned to England, and convened a parliament at Westminster, in March, when his eldest son Edward was created duke of Cornwall; Henry, eldest son of the earl of Lancaster, was promoted to the earldom of Derby; that of Gloucester was conferred upon Hugh de Audeley, William Clinton was made earl of Huntingdon, William de Bohun was gratified with the earldom of Northampton, William de Montacute was created earl of Salisbury, and Robert D'Ufford earl of Suffolk. These promotions were the prelude to a war with France, which Edward determined to prosecute against Philip, not only for the recovery of the lands in Guienne which he had seized, but for his whole kingdom, of which he conceived himself to be the true heir, as next in blood to the late king. He was encouraged in these sentiments by Robert D'Artois, related to the blood royal of France, who was at this time a refugee in England. That nobleman, who had married Philip's sister, presuming upon this alliance, and his great power and influence in the kingdom, revived a law-suit for the county of Artois, which had been formerly decided in favour of

A. C. 1337.

Cart. 2.
Edw. III.

A. C. 1337. his aunt Maude, daughter of Robert count of Artois; and, in order to support the process, he produced some deeds forged for the purpose by a lady of Bethune, called Divion, who possessed an amazing talent of counterfeiting seals and writings. The forgery however was detected; and Divion, in consequence of her own confession, condemned to the flames. The deed was cancelled, and Robert dismissed from court in disgrace. Being afterwards summoned before the court of peers to answer for this subornation, he refused to appear; and after three citations he was banished the kingdom, and his estate confiscated. Thus exiled he retired into Brabant, from whence he came over to England, where he met with a very honourable reception from Edward, who affected to treat him with the same distinction which was paid to David de Brus at the court of France. Being a man of extraordinary courage, experience, and capacity, his advice had great weight in the councils of England; and as his resentment against Philip was implacable, all his advice tended to a war with that monarch, founded on such a principle as would hardly admit of any accommodation. Edward had offered to leave all his disputes about Guienne to the arbitration of the pope, though he knew that pontiff was in the French interest; and Benedict earnestly exhorted Philip to do him justice, that peace being restored, he might engage in the crusade against the infidels. All his remonstrances producing nought but evasive answers, his holiness pressed him either to begin the voyage, or refund the money which had been raised from the clergy of France, by the grant of his predecessor, towards the charges of the expedition. Philip, who could no longer amuse him with vague promises and professions, at length plainly gave him to understand, that he would never conclude a peace with Edward so long as he granted

protection to Robert D'Artois; and the king of England would not so far derogate from his own dignity as to withdraw his favour from that nobleman. Nevertheless, the pope still persisted in his mediation, and Edward sent ambassadors to the French court to adjust the articles of a peace, which were at one time settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties; when Philip insisting upon Scotland's being included in the treaty, and that David de Brus should be restored to the throne of that kingdom, the negotiation was interrupted until the English ambassadors should receive farther instructions on that head from their master, who was so much incensed at these new demands, that he swore he would sooner destroy the whole realm of Scotland, than agree to such unreasonable conditions.

A fruitless negotiation for peace between France and England.

Baron. Cont.

Every thing now presaged a rupture between the crowns of France and England. The French already commenced hostilities, by making incursions into Guienne, and seizing the castles of that province. Edward calling a parliament in Lent, explained to them the nature of his difference with Philip, the steps he had taken towards an accommodation, and the progress he had made in contracting foreign alliances to assist him in his quarrel; and they, as well as the nation in general, glowed with uncommon ardour and impatience to retort the hostilities which the French had begun. The bishop of Lincoln, and the earls of Salisbury and Huntingdon, were appointed as ambassadors to finish the treaties which had been set on foot with different powers; and an attempt was made to engage Lewis count of Flanders in the league, by the proposal of a marriage between his eldest son and the king's daughter: but he was too intimately connected with Philip to be swayed even by that temptation. The ambassadors repairing to the court of Hainault, with a long retinue of young noblemen

Edward engages the Flemings in his interest.

A. C. 1337.

Froissart.
Rymer.

and knights, who made a very splendid appearance, concluded the treaties with that count, the duke of Brabant, the marquis of Juliers, the counts of Gueldres, Loffe, Mons, Marcke, Palatine, with several other princes of the empire, and even the emperor Lewis of Bavaria himself, who agreed to furnish Edward with a certain number of troops, to be maintained at the expence of England. Tho' the count of Flanders could not be detached from the interest of Philip, it was thought proper to tamper with the Flemings, who hated the French, and derived considerable advantage from their commerce with England. The large towns were in a manner independent of the count, and particularly the city of Ghent, which was actually governed by a rich brewer called Jacob Van Ardevelt. This plebeian was a man of an enterprising genius, extremely popular, so wealthy that he maintained a guard of fourscore soldiers about his person, and employed spies in all the different towns of Flanders, to give him intelligence of every thing that was transacted either in town or country. He was more powerful than the count himself, and stuck at no measures, however cruel and unjust, to strengthen and maintain his interest. He had employed his emissaries to dispatch several noblemen, and banish others, who presumed to oppose his power: he confiscated their estates for his own use, and was become so absolute and terrible, that no person would venture to contradict whatever he thought proper to propose in the assembly of the states of Flanders. This demagogue the bishop of Lincoln undertook to gain over to the interest of Edward; while his two colleagues repaired to Bruges and Ypres, which they at last engaged in the confederacy, by promise of granting them particular privileges in trade.

Count Lewis, on the other hand, exerted all his influence in traversing the negotiations of the English;

lish; and espoused the cause of Philip with such a degree of fury, as prompted him to put a nobleman of Courtray to death, without form of process, because he favoured the interest of Edward. He sent his natural brother, Guy de Rickenbourg, with a body of forces to secure the isle of Cadfant, cut off the communication between those parts and Brabant, and intercept the English ambassadors in their return. These being apprized of his intention, remained at Dort until a fleet of forty ships was sent for their convoy; then they sailed for England, and in their passage fell in with two large Flemish ships of war, having on board the bishop of Glasgow, with one hundred and fifty Scottish gentlemen, a considerable sum of money, and a small body of soldiers, sent from the king of France to the assistance of the Brussians in Scotland: the ships were taken and plundered, and the bishop, with his followers, cut in pieces. As Guy de Rickenbourg, in being master of Cadfant, had it in his power to intercept all passage by sea to Bruges and Ghent, Edward resolved to dislodge him from that post, and sent the earls of Derby and Suffolk, with several other noblemen and knights, five hundred men at arms, and three thousand archers, on board his fleet to expel the Flemings from the island. Their landing was obstinately disputed by Guy de Rickenbourg, at the head of five thousand men; in spite of whose efforts the English made good their footing on the beach, though, even after their landing, a desperate engagement ensued. The earl of Derby was felled to the ground, but rescued by Sir Walter Manny, a gallant knight of Hainault, to whose prowess the victory was in a great measure owing. Three thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and a great number of persons of distinction taken prisoners, among whom was their commander; by whose ransom Sir Walter Manny was

A. C. 1338.
The English defeat the forces of Flanders on the isle of Cadfant.

Knyghton.
Walsing.
Proissart.

A. C. 1337. enriched. Immediately after this action, which happened in the beginning of November, Ardevelt, who had warmly espoused the cause of Edward, pressed him to come over immediately and head the allies in person ; but he thought proper to postpone the expedition, because some alteration had happened in his affairs. The count of Holland and Hainault had died in June ; and though the son engaged in the confederacy, it suffered an irreparable loss in the death of the father. Edward had appointed John duke of Brabant his lieutenant and vicar-general in the kingdom of France, and actually directed him to claim and take seisin of that realm in his name ; but, as war was not yet declared, the pope laboured with great industry to prevent the calamities that must have attended a rupture between two such powerful monarchs ; and, in compliance with the request of his holiness, Edward named two commissioners to treat of a peace with France and Scotland. Two cardinals were sent over to interpose their good offices in bringing the treaty to perfection ; and in the mean time the parties agreed to a suspension of hostilities, till Midsummer in the following year.

Rymer.

A. C. 1338. In a parliament which met in the beginning of February, Edward represented the extraordinary occasion he had for large sums of money, to pay the subsidies which he had granted to his foreign allies ; and the prelates, nobility, and freeholders, indulged him with a moiety of their wool, which sold for four hundred thousand pounds sterling ; besides a duty of two shillings a ton upon wine, added to the usual customs, paid by all foreign merchants : over and above this enormous imposition, the inferior clergy assembled in convocation at St. Bride's in London, granted a tenth of their revenues, exclusive of a tax of a triennial tenth, to which they had before consented. This was the heaviest burthen

Edward arrives at Antwerp, and asserts his claim to the throne of France.

A. C. 1338.

burthen that ever had been laid upon the nation, to which it was so grievous, that the king desired the two archbishops, and their suffragans, to represent his necessities to the people, in such a manner that they should bear the load with patience. Vast as the subsidy may seem to have been, considering the value of money in those days, it was unequal to the expence of his armament, and treaties of alliance; for the German princes were ever as insatiable in their demands as dilatory in the performance of their contracts. The king, about this period, prevailed upon the lords of Le Bret, Caumont, and other powerful noblemen of Gascony, to renounce their engagements with Philip, who had by this time confiscated Guienne and Ponthieu; he then borrowed money of several abbeys for present use, and assembled his army and navy without delay. His eldest son Edward was appointed guardian of the realm; and proper precautions being taken for preserving the peace of the kingdom in his absence, he sailed from the port of Orewell on the nineteenth day of July, with a fleet of three hundred vessels, attended by the prime nobility of England; and, after an easy passage, arrived at Antwerp, the capital city of John duke of Brabant. On the day after his arrival he had a conference with Ardevelt, who persuaded him to assume the title of king of France, that the Flemings might have a colour for taking up arms against their lord, and elude the payment of two millions of florins, which they had obliged themselves, on pain of interdict, to pay to the pope, if ever they should make war on the king of France. Edward, who had long hesitated on this subject, at length complied with their request. He had, at the desire of his holiness, sent the prelates of Canterbury and Durham, with three other ambassadors, to the French court, with powers to negotiate and conclude a peace with Philip, whom he stiled king of France: but now he

Ibid.
Clauf. 22.
Edw. III.

A. C. 1338. revoked these commissions, and prohibited them from doing any thing in his name which might be prejudicial to his right, or construed into an acknowledgment of Philip's title. As for the homage he had formerly done to that prince, implying a full recognition of Philip's right to the throne of that kingdom, he considered, and disowned it as the act of a minor, extorted by the fear of losing Guienne.

Rymer.
Rainald.

He is created
vicar of the
empire.

Though he had taken this step on purpose to oblige the Flemings, he found his affairs in a very unpromising situation. His allies were altogether unprepared to take the field; and though they visited him at his arrival, they gave him to understand that they could not be in a condition to act before the beginning of August. At that time all of them appeared at the rendezvous, except John duke of Brabant, who, though the king's first cousin, had given Philip private assurances that he would never enter into any engagement to his prejudice. John's absence served as a pretence for the rest to decline the performance of their contracts until he should be ready to concur with them in their operations. The king of England was so chagrined at these evasive excuses, that he began to repent of having undertaken the expedition: but, as he had proceeded too far to retract with honour, he resolved to attach the duke and inhabitants of Brabant to his interest, by granting them certain immunities in trade, by which they were heartily engaged in his alliance. John now assured him that he would renounce all connection with Philip, and concur with the rest of the allies in assisting Edward to the utmost of his power. They were again convened about the middle of the month, and unanimously resolved to attack France, if they could procure the sanction of the imperial authority, to which they were subject. This they hoped to obtain without difficulty, as Philip had encroached upon

upon the empire, in taking the castle of Crevecœur, and putting a garrison into Cambray, at the desire of the bishop, who had demanded his protection. The king sent the marquis of Juliers, and some other commissioners, to prepare matters at the imperial court; and he himself afterwards repaired to Coblantz, where the emperor readily granted all he demanded, and even created him vicar of the empire; an office by which his German allies were peculiarly subjected to his orders. He held another council at his return to Brabant; and it was unanimously resolved that their troops should rendezvous next year on the eighth day of July, in order to undertake the siege of Cambray. Edward thinking it necessary to pass the winter in Brabant, that he might be at hand to quicken their preparations, and overawe the bishop of Liege, who adhered to France, sent for his queen to Antwerp, where she was in November delivered of her third son, named Lionel, who was afterwards created duke of Clarence. His alliance with the emperor gave great umbrage to the pope, because Lewis of Bavaria, who now sat on the imperial throne, had been excommunicated and deposed by the late pontiff, for having set up an anti-pope, from whose hands he had received the crown. Edward was therefore exhorted to break off all correspondence with such an impious usurper, lest he should be involved in the same censure. The king, however, paid very little regard to the remonstrances of a pontiff who had been always in the interest of his enemy; and although his ambassadors were still employed in treating of a peace at Compeigne and Arras, he continued to exert his industry in making vigorous preparations for the ensuing campaign. These conferences at last broke off entirely, and Philip swore that Edward should not have a foot of land in France, nor march one day through his territories without a battle.

Rymer.
Rainald.

Froissart.

A. C. 1339.

He takes the
field against
Philip de
Valois.

By this time the king of England's finances were almost exhausted; so that he was obliged to borrow vast sums at exorbitant interest, and even pawn his queen's jewels for security; though he received a seasonable supply of fifty thousand pounds sterling, which the duke of Brabant advanced as the portion of his daughter Margaret, who was affianced to prince Edward. This, and other difficulties, retarded his operations in such a manner that he could not take the field till the twentieth day of September, when he marched from Valenciennes into the Cambresis, which he ravaged with fire and sword, reducing castles as he advanced. Then he fell upon the Vermandois; though when he entered this country, which properly belonged to France, the counts of Hainault and Namur retired with their troops, declaring they would not serve out of the territories of the empire. Though thus weakened, he resolved to undertake the siege of Cambrai, and actually encamped before the place, which he found so well provided for sustaining a tedious siege, that he abandoned the enterprize, and marched towards the French army, with which Philip lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Peronne. The two monarchs continued a whole week within two leagues of each other, in the fields between Veroufossé and Flemenguere; and on Wednesday the twentieth of October, Edward sent a herald to desire that Philip would appoint a day for the battle. The French king pitched upon the following Friday, when both armies were drawn out early in the morning; the English and their allies not exceeding seven and forty thousand men, and the enemy amounting to double that number. After having stood in order of battle, facing one another the whole day, they retired to their respective camps, and appeared again next morning in the same disposition. In the afternoon the French retreated into their quarters, which they fortified with trenches, and trunks of trees cut
down

down for the purpose; while Edward wheeled off towards Avesnès, for the benefit of a more convenient encampment, and sent another message to Philip, importing that he would wait for him all Sunday in order of battle. The French king was inclined to hazard an engagement; but his council representing the imprudence of risking his crown upon a battle with an enemy whom the weather must in a little time compel to retire, he provided his frontier towns with strong garrisons, and retired to Paris; and Edward being informed of his retreat, permitted the Germans to go home, while he himself, with his own troops, returned to Brussels. Among Philip's subjects, none distinguished themselves so much by their zeal as the Normans, who sent deputies to their king at Vincennes, offering, if he would allow his son John to be their commander, to make a descent in England, and defray the greatest part of the expence that would attend the expedition. They proposed to furnish four thousand men at arms, ten thousand cross-bow men, and thirty thousand infantry, for the conquest of this kingdom, which was to be given to prince John; and this proposal was qualified with some articles to which Philip gladly gave his assent. This project was defeated by the measures that were taken in England to protect the sea-coast, and the invasion of France, on the side of Flanders, by Edward, against whom the French king was obliged to employ his whole force and attention. Nevertheless, the Normans over-ran the island of Jersey, and even insulted the coast of England, on which they surprized and burned the towns of Plymouth and Southampton: but these depredations were retorted by Robert lord Moreley, who, with the fleet under his command, destroyed a great number of ships in different parts of Normandy, and reduced Treport to ashes.

Du Tillet.
Knyghten,

Edward,

A. C. 1339.
The Brus-
sians pre-
vail in Scot-
land.

Edward, in his first campaign, acquired no solid advantage to counterbalance the prodigious expence of his armament and alliance, and found himself reduced to great difficulties at his return to Bruffels. He had granted such assignments upon his revenues that he could expect no remittances from England; and he had borrowed three hundred thousand pounds sterling in Flanders and Brabant, from persons whom he was bound in honour to satisfy, before he could return to his own country. His absence had produced manifold disorders in England, chiefly arising from bands of freebooters, formed in different parts of the kingdom, who ravaged the country, and set justice at defiance; and the Brusian Scots took this opportunity to retrieve what they had lost, and even to make incursions on the English Marches. In the course of the preceding year, Sir Andrew Murray, the guardian of Scotland, had reduced all the places of any strength on the north side of the river Tay; and defeated a body of four thousand English, commanded by the lord Henry Montfort, who lost his life in the engagement. The earl of Dunbar having renounced the allegiance he had sworn to Edward, after the battle of Hallidowne-hill, and taken the field with Murray, while his castle was besieged by sea and land, by the lord Henry Plantagenet, the earls of Salisbury, Angus, and Arundel, and gallantly defended by the countess, who receiving a supply of men and provisions, under the conduct of Sir William Ramsay, made a furious sally, and ruined all the works of the besiegers. The arrival of this reinforcement, together with the news of Montfort's defeat, induced the English noblemen to raise the siege, that they might advance to the relief of their countrymen. For this purpose, they sent two large detachments from the main army, by different routes, under the command of Wil-
liam

liam Talbot, and lord Richard Montague, who joining at Panmuir, in Angus, were defeated, and Talbot was taken prisoner. The castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Coupar, were now the only places of consequence remaining in the hands of Baliol. Sir William Douglas had made an unsuccessful attempt upon the first of these; and about this time the Bruffians sustained an irreparable loss in the death of their guardian, in which office he was succeeded by Robert Stewart, who was connected with David by the ties of consanguinity. He invested and took the town of Perth, which was well fortified, and supplied with a strong garrison; and the castle of Coupar was surrendered to him by William Bullock, treasurer to Edward Baliol, who seems to have betrayed his trust, and revolted to the Bruffian interest.

Fordun.

The party of Baliol being now totally subdued in Scotland, and all the conquests of Edward in that country lost in his absence, the Bruffians ventured to retaliate the miseries they had undergone, by depredations upon his subjects, and ravaged the northern counties of England. In order to repel these incursions, the parliament, which met in October, appointed commissioners of array to levy forces; and the clergy, in the convocation of York, were enjoined to grant an aid for the defence of the Marches. The king had sent over agents to explain the nature of his necessities to this parliament, and demand a considerable subsidy; in consideration of which, the archbishop of Canterbury was impowered to grant such concessions as they could in reason desire. The earls and barons taking the affair into deliberation, agreed to give the tythe of their flocks and corn for one year; but the knights of the shire alledged that they could not agree to this subsidy, until they should have consulted their constituents; and desired they might be indulged with

Edward assumes the title of king of France.

A. C. 1339. time for that purpose. The discussion of this affair was accordingly postponed to a new parliament to meet at Westminster in January; and at their desire, a clause was inserted in the writ of summons, providing that none but knights should be returned as representatives of counties. The king was very much chagrined at this delay of the supply: his allies were grown clamorous for money, and the duke of Brabant would not consent to his going over to England, until he had given security for his returning within a week after Midsummer. He presented that nobleman with a grant of fifteen hundred pounds a year; and promised to gratify the marquis of Juliers with an earldom in England. He made another fruitless attempt to gain over the count of Flanders to his interest, by promising to assist him in the recovery of Artois, to which he had some pretensions, and proposing a match between his eldest son and Edward's daughter Isabel. Though he could not detach the count from Philip, he contracted a closer connection with the Flemings, by engaging to assist them in the recovery of Lille, Douay, and Bethune, which they had been forced to give up to Philip as pledges of their fidelity; and seeing no hope of an accommodation, quartered the arms of France with those of England. The inscription on the great seal was altered from duke of Aquitain to king of France; and, instead of the former motto, he assumed that of Dieu et mon Droit, alluding to the design of supporting his pretensions to the crown of that kingdom.

The treaty between Edward and the Flemings being ratified at Ghent, they did homage, and took the oath of allegiance to him, as the lord paramount of their country; and then he published a manifesto, asserting his right to the crown of France, and justifying the steps he had taken in support of his claim. In a consultation with his allies, it was agreed

Rainald.
Sandford.
Gen. Hist.

He receives
a prodigious
subsidy from
his parlia-
ment.

agreed that the next campaign should be opened with the siege of Tournay: then embarking for England, he landed at Harwich in February; and that same day issued out writs for convoking a parliament at Westminster, on the twenty-ninth day of March. In the preceding session, which was held in January, provision had been made for fortifying Southampton, and the isle of Wight, equipping a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, to guard the channel, sending supplies to the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and raising a number of men at arms, light horse, and archers, for the defence of the Marches. Some offers had been made of a supply for his majesty's occasions; but as he himself arrived in the mean time, the consideration of that affair was postponed to this new parliament, from which he received a very extraordinary aid, consisting of the ninth sheaf of corn, the ninth fleece and lamb for two years, to be levied on the prelates, earls, barons, and all the freeholders and tenants of the kingdom: the citizens and burgessees paid a ninth of their goods and merchandize; but such tradesmen and inhabitants as lived in wastes and forests were taxed only at a fifteenth of their moveables. In consideration of these supplies, the king consented to the remission of old debts and trespasses of the forest, contracted and committed before his coronation: the two charters, with the privileges and franchises of boroughs, were confirmed; an uniformity of weights and measures was established through the whole kingdom; and many wholesome regulations were made for redressing the grievances of the subject, in the oppression practised by goalers, the delay of law-suits, and the frauds of sheriffs, in farming hundreds at higher rates than were paid to the crown. It was decreed that all pardons for murders or felonies, contrary to the tenour of the coronation oath,

A. C. 1340.

Stat. 14.
Edw. III.
Rym.er.

A. C. 1340. should be deemed null; and the king waved his right of purveyance, in the contracts to be made with merchants, for supplying his forces or garrisons with provision. The parliament likewise enacted a statute, declaring, that though Edward assumed the title of king of France, the realm of England owed no subjection to him in that capacity; nor was in any ways dependent upon that kingdom. Over and above this great subsidy, the lords and commons granted a duty of forty shillings on a sack of wool, and as much on every last of leather, for two years; on condition, however, that after the expiration of that term, no more than the old custom should be charged on those commodities. It was also provided, that none of these aids should be drawn into a precedent; and they, together with some branches of the ordinary revenue, were appropriated to the payment of the king's debts, and the charges of the war with France and Scotland.

He totally
defeats the
French fleet
at Sluys.

Egoiffart.

During these transactions, hostilities were recommenced on the frontiers of France and Flanders, in skirmishes that were fought with various success. Among these the French gained a considerable advantage over the English, in an action near Lille, where the earl of Salisbury, and Robert Ufford, eldest son to the earl of Suffolk, were taken prisoners. Edward having obtained all that he could expect from a complying parliament, and created the marquis of Juliers earl of Cambridge, issued writs for calling a new assembly, to be held in July, under the auspices of his son prince Edward, duke of Cornwall; and in the mean time resolved to return to the continent. He was informed by the duke of Gueldres, that Philip of Valois had marched at the head of a vast army to the frontiers of the Low Countries, and equipped a fleet of four hundred sail, manned by Normans, Picards,
and

and Genoese, under the command of three admirals, to intercept the king of England in his return to Flanders. Notwithstanding this intelligence, Edward resolved to cross the sea at the time he had fixed for his departure, which was the thirteenth day of June; and paid so little regard to the remonstrances of his chancellor the bishop of Chester, who endeavoured to divert him from his purpose, that this prelate resigned the seals, and withdrew from court. The king, startled at his resignation, consulted with lord Morley and Crab, his two chief admirals; and they confirming the suggestions of the bishop, he ordered the naval force of his kingdom to be assembled, to the number of two hundred and sixty sail, for his convoy, and sending for the bishop, re-delivered the seals into his hand. He ordered this fleet to be well manned with a strong body of men at arms, and archers; and having borrowed twenty thousand marks of the city of London, for present use, set sail from Orewell, attended by the principal nobility of England. Next day, in making the land of Blankenberg, he descried the masts and streamers of the enemy's fleet lying in the harbour of Sluys, and set on shore some knights to observe them more narrowly, and bring an account of their number: but they returned with their intelligence so late, that he could not begin the engagement that evening; and was obliged to lie all night at anchor. In the morning of Midsummer day, he perceived the French fleet advanced about a mile without the harbour, already drawn up in three great divisions. He forthwith made the like disposition, stationing his largest ships in the first line, well supplied with archers and men at arms alternately. He ordered the second division to keep aloof, and prevent the first from being inclosed by the enemy, as well as to assist it in any exigence;

A. C. 1340

and the third was reserved for the protection of the ladies, and transports loaded with baggage and implements of war. Having thus formed his order of battle, he hauled upon a wind, in order to gain the weather-gage; and then bearing down upon the enemy, began a desperate engagement, which lasted from ten in the morning till seven at night. The ships immediately grappling each other, the troops on board fought hand to hand with incredible fury: the noblemen and knights exerted all their prowess in signaling themselves under the eye of their sovereign, who animated them by his own example: the English archers, who excelled all the world in bowmanship, made a terrible slaughter among the French and Genoese; and the men at arms boarding their ships, attacked them with such irresistible valour, that they leaped into the sea by hundreds, in order to avoid the horrors of the assault. The first line of the French being thus defeated by main force, and the second already disordered, lord Morley arrived with the northern fleet, and some Flemish ships, and falling in among the shattered squadrons of the enemy, bore down all opposition. At length Edward obtained a complete victory. Two of the French admirals were slain, with upwards of twenty thousand men; and though sixty sail escaped under the third admiral, two hundred and thirty of their largest ships were taken. The king was wounded slightly in the thigh, and his loss amounted to about four thousand men who fell in the battle: he passed that night on board, and next day landed with all his forces at Sluys; from whence he marched to Ghent, where he found his queen just delivered of a son, called John, afterwards duke of Lancaster.

Knyghton.

Froissart.

Fabian.

Mon. Malm.

He invests

Tournay.

This glorious victory not only animated the English to support their monarch to the utmost

of

of their endeavours, but encouraged his allies on the continent to redouble their vigour, in executing the plans of the confederacy. These Edward assembled in a general council at Vilvorden, where the countries of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, engaged in a close union for their mutual defence, under the arbitration of Edward, whom they impowered to decide in all disputes that might happen in the course of their association. At the same time it was agreed, that two armies should be formed without delay; one to be composed of Flemings, reinforced with a body of English archers; and the other to consist of Edward's own troops, with those of the allies. The first, amounting to fifty thousand men, was sent under the conduct of Robert D'Artois, to invest St. Omer, the garrison of which was commanded by Eudes IV. duke of Burgundy, and the count D'Armagnac; while the other, which was twice as numerous, was employed by the king in person in the siege of Tournay. Robert D'Artois sat down before St. Omer on the twenty-second day of July; but his operations were soon at an end, by the cowardice of the Flemish troops, who being seized with a panic, fled in the utmost precipitation, even before any enemy appeared. Edward advancing towards Tournay, sent an herald to Philip de Valois, challenging him to decide their quarrel by single combat, or by fighting at the head of one hundred men, to spare the effusion of christian blood; or should he decline accepting this defiance, to appoint a day for a general engagement before the walls of Tournay. Philip disavowed this address, because it was not directed to the king of France; but signified that he would not stoop so far beneath his own dignity, as to put himself on a footing with his vassal, whom he would chastise for his rebellion in a manner more suitable to the insolence and perfidy of his conduct.

A. C. 1340.
A truce is
concluded
between
Edward and
Philip.

Tournay being supplied with a garrison of fifteen thousand choice troops, besides an equal number of militia raised by the inhabitants, and commanded by two marechals of France, Edward found it impracticable to reduce it by force; and after having made several unsuccessful assaults, converted the siege into a blockade, in hope of compelling them by famine to surrender. Philip had appointed the rendezvous of his forces at Arras, where he was joined by David de Brus king of Scotland, Philip king of Navarre, John king of Bohemia, the dukes of Brittany and Lorraine, the bishops of Liege, Metz, and Verdun, the counts of Bar, Montbelliard, Genoa, and Savoy; and the succours brought by these princes, when joined to the forces of France, formed an immense army, which was deemed sufficient to raise the siege of Tournay. With this view Philip marched from Arras, and encamped between the bridges of Cressin and Bouvines, where he lay inactive for several weeks, during which many feats of chivalry were performed by the individuals of each army. The town being at last reduced to extremity for want of provisions, must have surrendered to Edward, or else Philip must have hazarded a battle for its relief, had not Jane, countess dowager of Hainault, sister to Philip, and mother to Philippa queen of England, quitted the monastery to which she had retired, and interposed her good offices towards an accommodation. Her endeavours were seconded by her son-in-law the marquis of Juliers, John de Hainault, and the duke of Brabant; and both parties agreed to a cessation of hostilities for three days, during which they proposed to settle the conditions of a pacification. Commissioners were appointed, and the conferences opened in the church of Esplechin, where by dint of Jane's intreaties, they concluded a truce for the Low Countries and Guienne, to

continue

continue till Midsummer. It was stipulated that both sides should retain the places which they then possessed; that the siege should be raised; and the Scots, with some of the allies, have the benefit of the cessation, provided they should think it worthy their acceptance. Edward, immediately after this impolitic truce, by which he gave up Tournay, and all the prospects of a prosperous campaign, appointed plenipotentiaries to treat with those of France at Arras concerning a solid pacification, which the pope still continued to mediate with very little effect. The king of England was become so moderate that he now insisted upon nothing but the enjoyment and undisputed sovereignty of Guienne. This the French absolutely refused to grant, or even to treat upon the subject, until he should renounce the title of king of France, which he had lately assumed. These difficulties appearing insurmountable, the conferences were soon broke off; and all that the mediators could obtain was a prolongation of the truce for a year longer, and the exchange of some prisoners.

A. C. 1340.

Froissart.
Rymer.
Rainald.
Walsing.

The king
returns to
England.

By this time Edward found cause to repent of having inconsiderately engaged in an expensive war, from which he saw no prospect of extricating himself with honour. He could not pretend to maintain it without allies; and they were so venal and rapacious, that he could neither depend upon their integrity, nor feed their avarice. He had as yet received no remittances from England; so that being unable to pay their subsidies, his reputation began to suffer, and their attachment to waver. They were afraid of incensing France beyond a hope of reconciliation; and, in this apprehension extorted Edward's assent to the truce which had lately been concluded. He had been obliged to silence their clamorous demands with bonds at an exorbitant interest; and now leaving Henry of Lan-

A. C. 1340.

caster earl of Derby, in pawn for the payment, stole away privately to Zealand, where he embarked with his queen for England. After a very stormy passage of three days, he landed on the last day of November, about midnight, at the Tower of London, which he found utterly unguarded. Nicholas de la Beche, the constable, who was absent from his duty, and all his subalterns, were imprisoned for their negligence and relaxation of discipline. But the king's resentment fell still heavier on the officers of the revenue, to whom he imputed the dishonour which he had sustained on the continent. The bishops of Chichester and Litchfield were deprived of their offices of chancellor and treasurer; Sir John St. Paul, keeper of the privy seal, the sheriffs of counties, the collectors of taxes, and other public officers, were turned out of their employments; and a commission was issued for enquiring into their failures and misdemeanours, for which they were punished with great severity.

His disputes
with John
Stratford
archbishop
of Canter-
bury.

John Stratford archbishop of Canterbury had been vested with the charge of paying the king's debts to the towns and merchants of Brabant and Flanders: though the first year's ninth had been assigned for that purpose, the collectors neglected to remit the money; and their negligence was one cause of the king's disgrace and disappointment at Tournay. Edward sent Nicholas de Cantaloup with a public notary to the archbishop of Canterbury, to warn that prelate to take care of his bonds, and either discharge them immediately, or cross the sea to Flanders, and reside in that country until the money should be paid. In the mean time he desired the metropolitan would come to court, and give an account of the proceedings of those to whom he had entrusted the management of the revenue. Stratford excused himself from appearing at court, where he should be exposed to the malice of his enemies; and

and said he would consider of the other part of the king's proposal. Far from complying with Edward's desire, he summoned the clergy and laity of Canterbury to the cathedral, where, in an elaborate harangue, he extolled the conduct of Thomas Becket, blamed himself for having been too much engrossed in secular affairs, declared his resolution for supporting the rights of the church; and, as the imprisoned officers were generally clergymen, denounced the sentence of excommunication against all who should seize the persons, lands, or effects, of the clergy, invade the liberties of the church and Magna Charta, or inform against a bishop for treason, or any capital offence. He afterwards, in a letter to the king, communicated the censures he had passed, complained of the imprisonment of the clergy, which had been owing to the suggestions of evil counsellors; exhorted him to summon the prelates and peers of the land, in order to promote a proper enquiry concerning the embezzlement of the wool and money, which had been granted by the parliament: and offered to stand to the judgment of his peers, saving the rights of the holy church, and the dignity of his own order. The king having perused this letter, sent Ralph lord Stafford, steward of his household, to require the archbishop's attendance at court, about affairs of the greatest importance to the king and kingdom. John pretended that he could not obey the king's order, with any regard to his own personal safety; but this objection being removed by the grant of a safe-conduct, he formed other evasive excuses to colour his disobedience. He professed himself champion for the liberties of the clergy; sent mandates to his suffragans to publish his censures, and inhibit ecclesiastics from paying the ninth lately granted in parliament, on pretence of their being liable to a tenth which they had before voted in convocation. The king, in-

A. C. 1340.

A. C. 1341.

A. C. 1341. censured at his conduct, forbade the bishops to publish the censures or the mandate; and wrote a letter to the prior and chapter of Canterbury, giving a detail of the archbishop's misdemeanors, and ordering them to publish it in all proper places. About this same time some merchants of Brabant, empowered by the duke, repaired to Canterbury, and being refused admittance to the archbishop, fixed a citation on the public cross, near the gate of the priory, requiring him in the duke's name to appear in his courts of justice, to answer for the debts in which he was bound, and remain in the Low Countries until they should be discharged. Stratford made a public defence in the pulpit to the articles of his charge, contained in the king's letter, which he treated as a scandalous libel; and published an apology for the vindication of his conduct, in which he expatiated upon the services he had done the state, particularly in making two and thirty voyages to the continent at his own expence. The king made a reply to this apology, which he accused as false and insolent; and forbade him, and all other bishops, to publish any censures prejudicial to the royal prerogative, as exercised by his predecessors. An information was preferred against the archbishop in the court of exchequer, before which he was summoned to appear; but he refused to plead to a charge of such importance before any other jurisdiction than that of the lords spiritual and temporal assembled in parliament.

The prelates and nobility obtain a statute of privileges in parliament.

When this assembly met in April at Westminster, the metropolitan, secured by a safe-conduct, appeared with a pompous train of bishops and clergy; but was not permitted to take his seat until he should have put in an answer to the articles exhibited against him in the exchequer. He received a copy of this accusation, of which he promised to consider, and then insisted upon taking his seat as the first peer of the

the realm. Being again denied admittance, he stood at the door grasping his cross, and declaring his resolution to maintain the rights of the church; but all his efforts were ineffectual, even though he solicited some lords, as they came from the house, to use their good offices with the king in his behalf. Disgraced as he was, he had a strong party among the temporal peers, as well as the bishops, who were deeply interested in his quarrel; and they resolved to exert themselves in his favour. When the king, in a full meeting of both houses, desired they would represent all manner of grievances, that the subjects might obtain redress, they consulted together, and brought in a bill, couched in the form of a petition, importing that the peers of the land should not be bound to answer for any offences charged upon them by the king, except in parliament: that this demand appearing inconsistent with the interest of the government, which would not admit of waiting for the convocation of a parliament to punish every offender, they petitioned the king for leave to appoint a committee of twelve persons to consider in what cases peers should be bound to answer in any other court than that of the parliament. After some debate it was agreed that peers should be tried only by their peers in parliament; and that their temporalities, lands, tenements, and effects, should not be seized, nor their persons arrested, for any thing relating to any office they should enjoy under the crown; saving, however, the king's rights, and the suit of parties: and provided that those peers who were sheriffs, or farmers of counties in fee, or had received any of the king's money and effects, should account for it by themselves, or their attorneys in the usual places. This law immediately affected the case of the archbishop, who declared himself ready to answer the articles in full parliament. Having made his submission to the king, in the

A. C. 1341. Painted-Chamber, he was very graciously received, admitted to his seat, and assured of being heard as soon as the affairs of state should be regulated. The bishops of Durham and Sarum, the earls of Northampton, Arundel, Warwick, and Salisbury, were appointed to receive and deliberate upon his answers, which should be referred to the next parliament; but by that time he found means to recover the king's favour, and the process against him was annulled. Before this session broke up, the prelates and nobility insisted upon Edward's confirming the two charters, and redressing the grievances of the nation. They proposed that the king should, on the third day of every session, resume all posts and places into his own hands, that the officers might be put to answer all the charges that should be brought against them in parliament; that all the great officers of the crown, and the judges, should be sworn to maintain the two great charters, and all the privileges of the nobility, clergy, towns, and corporations. But these two points were over-ruled, as being deemed sufficiently secured by the laws already in force. They demanded, however, in a more peremptory manner, that the clergy should be exempted from the attachment of their persons and effects, as well as from fines imposed by lay judges without the concurrence of their ordinary; that the king's officers should not enter their houses, granges, or churches; and that the civil judges should not take cognizance of usurers, commutation-money, testamentary and matrimonial accounts, which they alledged were matters belonging to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. These, and other articles, were drawn up in the form of a statute, and confirmed by the great seal; though much against the inclination of Edward, whose necessities obliged him to comply with their demands, as they refused to deliberate upon subsidies until

this

Rymer.
Ang. Sacr.
Rot. Parl.

this affair was discussed. The chancellor, treasurer, and several judges, protested against the passing of this act : and the king declared he would revoke, with the first opportunity, every grant or concession that should be extorted from him in such a manner. He accordingly, in a great council held about Michaelmas, annulled this statute, as far as he had power so to do, and inhibited the archbishop of Canterbury from taking any step in the ensuing provincial synod, towards the confirmation of that pretended statute, or the prejudice of his royal dignity and prerogative.

Ibid,

Edward is
deserted by
his German
allies.

Whatever reluctance Edward might have had to a compliance with a demand of this nature, he saw it was the only expedient by which his necessities could be relieved ; and in that light it was very convenient and effectual ; for this statute was no sooner confirmed, than the parliament indulged him with a subsidy of twenty thousand sacks of wool, to be transported to Flanders, before Michaelmas ; and all other persons were prohibited from sending over any quantity of the same merchandize till after that period, on pain of forfeiting thrice the value, together with life and member. This aid, however, did not arrive in time to repair the damage which his credit had suffered in the preceding campaign. The emperor Lewis, disappointed in his expectation of English money, and influenced by French gold, as well as by the instances of his wife, who was niece to Philip de Valois, deprived Edward of the vicariat of the empire, and espoused the interest of his enemy. The archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, with other princes of the empire, engaged in the service of France ; the pope effected an accommodation between the count of Hainault and the bishop of Cambrai ; and the French garrison evacuating this place, the dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, and

A. C. 1341. and others of Edward's allies, had no longer any pretence for committing hostilities against Philip; nor would they proceed in their operations against France, without constant supplies of money, which far transcended the merit of their service. While Edward found himself thus abandoned by all his allies on the continent, and utterly disabled from carrying on the war in Flanders, he was, by an unexpected event, furnished with an opportunity of attacking Philip, in the very heart of his dominions, with less expence, and a greater probability of success.

He engages in a treaty with John de Montfort, duke of Bretagne; who is taken prisoner at Nantes by Charles de Blois.

John III. duke of Brittany dying without issue, left his dominions to his niece Jane, married to Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France: but John de Montfort claiming the duchy as his brother, was received as the successor by the people of Nantes, where he summoned an assembly of the states, that his title might be recognized. The majority of the nobles having already taken the oath to Charles de Blois, whom they considered as the true heir, in right of his wife, and as a prince who would be supported by the whole power of France, the assembly was very thin; and indeed no person of consequence attended, except Henry de Leon, a nobleman of great valour, experience, and interest. John, however, with his brother's money, which he seized, began to levy troops, and assembled an army, with which he reduced a great number of towns and castles that adhered to his rival; but, as he expected a vigorous opposition from France, he resolved to strengthen his cause with some powerful alliance. With this view he had recourse to Edward king of England, who being now disengaged from his German allies, embraced his proposals without hesitation. John came over to the English court, where, by the interposition of his kinsman Robert D'Artois, the treaty was soon concluded, and

and he returned to Nantes, where he received a citation to attend the court of peers in France, in order to prove his title to the dutchy of Bretagne. Considering the steps he had taken, and the little reason he had to expect impartiality from Philip, who was uncle to his competitor, sound policy, and the dictates of self-preservation, ought to have prevented him from obeying the summons; in consequence of which, however, he went to Paris at the appointed time, with four hundred gentlemen in his retinue. At his first audience, Philip told him he had no right to the dutchy; and even charged him with having entered into alliances with the enemies of France: but he excused his voyage to England, on pretence of soliciting for the earldom of Richmond, which his brother had enjoyed; and with respect to the dutchy, he expressed his readiness to stand trial, and abide by the decision of his judges. The king promised that his title should be examined within a fortnight: and in the mean time ordered him to keep within the walls of Paris. John perceiving from this premature declaration, how little he had to expect from the justice of Philip; and apprehending that monarch's design was to arrest his person, until he should have delivered up all the towns and fortresses he possessed in Brittany, was now convinced of the erroneous step he had taken, and saw no other way of extricating himself than that of a private and precipitate retreat. Having taken his resolution on this subject, he amused Philip with a petition to be admitted to pay homage, and directed his agents to redouble their solicitations. Mean while, he disguised himself in the dress of a burgher, and with four attendants quitted Paris early in the morning. The rest of his retinue and domestics remained at his lodgings, and provided for his table as usual, giving out that he himself was confined in his chamber by an indisposition. In

A. C. 1341.

D'Argentré
Hist. de
Bretagne.

this

A. C. 1341. this manner was his departure concealed for four days, during which he arrived in his own territories ; but, Philip was no sooner apprised of his retreat, than he gave way to the first transports of his indignation ; ordered the parliament of Paris to adjudge Brittany to Charles de Blois, without waiting to proceed in the usual forms ; and immediately confiscated the county of Montfort. That the fugitive might feel his resentment still more sensibly, he supplied Charles with a numerous army, which rendezvoused at Angers, under the command of his eldest son John duke of Normandy, attended by several princes of the blood and the flower of the French nobility. The first attempt was on Chantocéaux, which sustained several assaults before it surrendered ; then they invested Nantes, the reduction of which they owed to the treachery of the citizens. Henry de Leon the governor having made a sally, in which two hundred of the inhabitants were taken prisoners, John de Montfort reprimanded him for the rashness of his conduct in such a manner that he could not digest the affront, and is said to have betrayed his master. The gates of the place were next morning opened to the French, who took possession of the city without resistance ; and seizing John in the castle, sent him directly to Paris, where he continued several years in prison.

Rymer.
Froissart.

The spirits
of his party
are support-
ed by the
courage of
his wife.

This disaster would have effectually crushed his party, had not his interest been maintained by the extraordinary talents of his wife Jane of Flanders, a lady of a masculine genius, who fought like a warrior in the field, and spoke like a politician in the council. She happened to be at Rennes when her husband was taken prisoner ; but his misfortune did not drive her to despair. She forthwith assembled the citizens ; and holding in her arms her infant son, recommended him to the protection, as the last male heir of the race of their dukes, in such

a pathetic manner that they resolved to spend their lives and fortunes in his service : then she secured the fidelity of the troops by dint of largesses ; and appointing William Cadoudal governor of the city, conveyed her son to Hennebon, a considerable port in Brittany, to wait for succours from England, in pursuance of the treaty concluded between Edward and her husband. A body of troops had been actually assembled for this service, under Robert D'Artois, Walter de Manny, and the lords Morley, Ferrers, Tibetot, and Bardolph, and a fleet provided for their transportation ; but, before the time fixed for their departure from Portsmouth, Edward's presence was required in the North to watch the turn of affairs in Scotland.

A. C. 1341.

While he was engaged at the siege of Tournay, in the course of the preceding year, William lord Douglas had taken the castle of Edinburgh by surprize ; and the Scots being comprehended in the truce concluded with Philip, no hostilities were committed in that country till Midsummer, when the term of the cessation expired. Then they invested the castle of Stirling, and carried on their attacks with such vigour, that the garrison was obliged to capitulate before Edward could march to its relief. Though he could not prevent this disaster, he determined to revenge it with the desolation of all Scotland. For this purpose he issued orders for assembling an army of fifty thousand men at Newcastle by the twenty-fourth day of January ; and equipped a powerful fleet to attend the motions of his land-forces, and supply them with provision in the barren country through which he meant to penetrate. The lord Robert Steward guardian of Scotland, Douglas, and other noblemen of that realm, alarmed at the prospect of such a mighty armament, resolved if possible to avoid the storm which impended over their country, and

Edward consents to a truce with the Scots.

A. C. 1342.

sent

A. C. 1342. sent ambassadors to Edward to solicit a truce for six months, on condition of submitting to his government, provided David de Brus should not before the first day of May return from France with succours, and assemble a force able to meet the English in fair battle. Perhaps the king of England would have lent a deaf ear to this proposal, had not his fleet, on which he in a great measure depended, been dispersed, shattered, and rendered unserviceable by a tempest; but this being the case, he consented to the truce, upon receiving security for the performance of articles, and returned in the beginning of February to London. This suspension of hostilities however was of short duration; for David returning to Scotland, the truce was terminated of course. Sir Alexander Ramsay took the castle of Roxburgh by escalade, and was appointed governor of that fortress; but was afterwards starved to death by William Douglas, whose jealousy could not bear a rival in reputation. William Bullock was slain about the same time by David Barclay; and other desperate feuds breaking out between powerful noblemen, involved the whole kingdom in carnage and confusion. This was no time to maintain a war against such a powerful neighbour as England; and David Bruce, being solicitous to heal these fatal divisions, endeavoured to procure a respite from hostilities. Edward, being intent upon the affairs of Brittany, was not averse to a treaty, which was accordingly brought upon the carpet; and though a solid peace could not be effected, a truce was concluded, with the consent of France, for two years, and afterwards renewed for two years longer.

Euchanan.

Rymer.

A body of
English
forces lands
in Brittany.

During these transactions, Jane of Brittany sent Amaury de Clifson to forward the succours from England; and that officer brought over her young son to be educated in the court of London, as a

place of safety: at the same time she proposed a match between him and one of the king's daughters, which afterwards took effect; and offered to put Brest and some other fortresses into his hands, as a security for his being reimbursed whatever he should expend in her assistance. Edward, being very well satisfied with her proposals, issued orders for assembling one hundred ships at Harwich, to transport Sir Walter de Manny, with three thousand archers and a good number of other troops, to Brittany; another fleet was ordered to rendezvous at Portsmouth, for the conveyance of a stronger reinforcement, under the command of William de Bohun earl of Northampton, whom the king appointed his lieutenant in the realm of France and dutchy of Brittany; and he was accompanied by Robert D'Artois and a great number of English noblemen. Mean while Charles de Blois, attended by the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, the counts of Alençon, Eu, and Guisnes, Lewis D'Espagne of the house of La Cerda, and many other French noblemen, had taken the field with a formidable army, reduced Rennes and invested Hennebon, which was defended by the countess in person. This heroine repulsed the besiegers in all their assaults with amazing valour. Observing one day that their whole army had quitted the camp to join in a general storm, she sallied out by a postern, at the head of three hundred horse, set fire to their tents and baggage, put their sutlers and servants to the sword, and occasioned such an alarm, that the French desisted from the assault, in order to cut off her communication with the town. Thus intercepted she retired to Auray, where she continued five or six days; then returning at the head of five hundred horse, fought her way through one quarter of the French camp, and entered Hennebon in triumph. The enemy, enraged

A. C. 1342. at seeing themselves thus baffled by a female, gave a general assault, which lasted from morning till three in the afternoon, when they were repulsed with great slaughter; then judging it impracticable to take the town without the military engines which they had left at Rennes, Charles de Blois left Lewis D'Espagne with part of the army to wait the arrival of those implements, while he marched off with the rest to besiege Auray. Lewis, when furnished with those machines, plied them so vigorously that great breaches were made in the ramparts, a number of the defendants was killed by the stones and missiles, which they threw without intermission; and in a word, the place was reduced to extremity, when the English fleet, after having been detained two whole months by contrary winds, arrived in the harbour. Walter de Manny and Amauray de Clifton, being landed with the forces, made a sally, in which they destroyed all the works and engines of the besiegers; and Lewis D'Espagne despairing of success, abandoned the enterprize, and joined Charles de Blois before Auray.

Froissart.
D'Argentré.

The war is
carried on
with various
success.

He was immediately detached to besiege Guingam and Guerrande, which he reduced; then putting six thousand of his men on board of a fleet, he landed near Quimperlé, and ravaged the country without opposition. Manny and Clifton sailing thither, with a choice body of archers, surprised and took their shipping; and setting their troops on shore, attacked the enemy with such fury, while they were dispersed in pillaging, that scarce three hundred of the whole number escaped with Lewis. Mean while Charles, having taken Auray, marched to Vannes, which he soon reduced; and flushed with his success resumed the siege of Hennebon, but miscarried as before. The succours from England being too inconsiderable to enable the countess

to take the field, she crossed the sea to England, in order to hasten the other reinforcement; and in her return with Robert D'Artois, encountered the French fleet near Guernsey, commanded by Lewis D'Espagne. The engagement lasted with great obstinacy till night, when they were parted by a furious storm, which however did not prevent the English from arriving next day at Hennebon. Jane and Robert, equally brave and enterprizing, advanced with their troops to Vannes, in hope of taking it by assault, which continued a whole day with great fury, and at last they were repulsed; but returning unexpectedly to the charge that same night, they took it by scalade, and Robert D'Artois was appointed governor. It did not continue long in possession of the English; the greatest part of the troops marching under the earl of Salisbury to besiege Rennes, Charles de Blois sat down before Vannes, and recovered it, notwithstanding the glorious defence that was made by Robert D'Artois, who effected a retreat to Hennebon, from whence he was carried to London for the cure of his wounds, which however proved mortal.

Edward set sail from Sandwich on the fifth day of October; and landing in Bretagne, declared he did not come as an enemy to France, but merely as an ally of the count de Montfort. In four days after his arrival he invested Vannes; but the place being well fortified, and provided with a numerous garrison, his assaults were not attended with success. He therefore changed the siege into a kind of blockade. Leaving part of his troops for that service, he marched towards Rennes, and took Malestroit and Ploermel in his way; then advancing to Nantes, in hope of drawing Charles de Blois to an engagement, before he was reinforced by the succours he expected from France, he arranged his army in order of battle before the town, and set

A. C. 1342.

Rymer,

Edward goes in person to Brittany, and the duke of Normandy takes the field against him.

A. C. 1342: fire to the suburbs. Charles, though extremely provoked at this insult, would not hazard a battle, because he expected every day to be joined by the duke of Normandy, who was at this juncture employed in assembling an army at Angers. The king of England, leaving a few troops to maintain the appearance of a siege, returned toward Vannes, which was very hard pressed by the English, when the duke of Normandy advanced at the head of forty thousand men to the relief of Nantes. Edward immediately recalled his troops to strengthen his own army, which did not amount to twenty thousand men at arms, infantry and archers; and when the duke advanced to Vannes, he found the English monarch strongly intrenched. The French followed his example; and both armies lay facing one another during the best part of the winter, in the course of which they suffered greatly from the severity of the weather, though the English were obliged to endure an additional hardship in the want of provisions; for their communication by sea was greatly interrupted by the activity of Lewis D'Espagne, who hovered on the coast with a fleet of thirty ships and one hundred gallies. Yet Edward, as he daily expected relief from this and other difficulties, by the arrival of a fleet and forces from England, would not abandon the siege, in which his reputation was concerned. While the English and French armies continued in this situation, two cardinals arrived at Malestroit as ambassadors from Clement VI. who had been just elevated to the papacy, and expressed an earnest desire of mediating a peace between the kings of France and England. By this time both sides were pretty well disposed to an accommodation; for the French general dreaded the arrival of succours from England, and Edward was very much hampered and discouraged by their delay. At the instances of the

D'Argentré.

A truce concluded.

two cardinals, they consented to treat on the subject of a pacification; and at length agreed that the difference should be referred to a fair discussion, in presence of the pope, who should arbitrate as a private person and common friend, in a treaty to be commenced at Midsummer, so as that the articles might be finally adjusted before Christmas. In the mean time a truce was concluded for three years, on condition that Vannes should be sequestered till the expiration of that truce in the hands of the cardinals, who might then dispose of it according to their good pleasure: That the Flemings should be absolved from the late pope's censures: That all other places should remain in the hands of the present possessors; and the prisoners on both sides be released on payment of ransom: That the allies of the contracting princes should be comprehended in this agreement; and that both should exert their utmost endeavours to prevent hostilities in Guienne, France, and Brittany.

A. C. 1342.

Rymer.
A. C. 1343.

The parliament approves of the king's conduct.

These articles being ratified and confirmed by the oaths of several noblemen of each side, Edward set sail for England; and, after having been tempest-tossed for several weeks, during which he was often in danger of shipwreck, landed on the second day of March at Weymouth, from whence he proceeded directly to London. Six days before his arrival, a parliament had been assembled at Westminster, to deliberate upon the truce and the proposed treaty, as well as to take cognizance of the state of the government, and provide for the peace and safety of the nation. These points were debated by the bishops, prelates, and barons, in the White-Chamber; while the knights of the shires and the commons took them under consideration in the Painted-Chamber of the palace: and this is the first time that we find a clear distinction between the two houses, as it is at present maintained.

A. C. 1343. Having maturely considered the subject before them, they concurred in approving the truce as honourable and advantageous, and recommended the treaty of peace as a desirable object, if it could be procured on equitable terms; otherwise they promised to maintain his quarrel to the utmost of their power. When the king desired to know if they had sustained any grievances in his absence, they complained of some hardships, and demanded that a commission should be given to justices chosen in parliament, to maintain the peace in the several counties, and hear and determine causes of felony, conspiracy, champerty, breaches of the peace, unlicensed amortisement of lands, fusion of gold coin by goldsmiths, exportation of good and importation of bad money by merchants, provisions, and usurpations of the court of Rome. This commission was accordingly issued; but it proved so disagreeable to the subjects in general, that it was vacated in the next session. The inconveniencies of adulterated coin were remedied by prohibiting the importation of bad money under severe penalties, and a new coinage of silver sterlings and gold florins, of the same value with those of Flanders, that they might pass in both countries, with the consent of the Flemings, which he sent commissioners to obtain: at the same time he wrote to the pope and cardinals, desiring they would put a stop to the provisions and other usurpations, by which they distressed the people, and impoverished the kingdom.

Rot. Parl.
Rymer.

Infractions
of the truce
by Philip
king of
France.

The commencement of the treaty to be held in presence of the pope, was postponed to Lent, on account of some infractions of the truce by the partisans of France in Bretagne, for which Philip delayed giving proper satisfaction: and when it was brought upon the carpet, the conferences proved ineffectual; for the English commissioners insisted upon their beginning with the discussion of their

master's

master's right to the crown of France; and Philip declared that the king of England should never enjoy one foot of land in France, except that which he might hold in vassalage. The pope endeavoured to prevail upon both sides to relax a little in their pretensions; but they were equally inflexible, and the negotiation proved abortive. By this time the quarrel was inflamed with personal rancour, and all thoughts of terminating the war in an amicable manner, had vanished. Immediately after the truce, Philip had seized as many of the partizans of John de Montfort as fell into the hands of his officers, pretending they were not included in the agreement; some of these were put to death, and the rest confined in loathsome prisons. He laid the blame of these outrages on Charles de Blois, who pretended to justify his conduct by alledging that he was not mentioned by name; and therefore not included in the treaty. It was stipulated, that John de Montfort should be set at liberty on his giving security that he would do nothing against the pretensions of Charles de Blois, during the continuance of the truce; and his nephew John, eldest son of Bouchard count of Vendome, engaged for the performance of this article. Nevertheless, he was still detained in prison; and Philip, in answer to the pope's expostulation, affirmed that he was not now a prisoner for any public reason that concerned the king of England, but for some particular causes of another nature. The true reason of this treatment was the ambition of Philip, who refused to release him, unless he would give up Brest and Hennebon, and renounce all claim to the dutchy of Bretagne: but nothing fixed such an indelible stain on the character of the French king, as his behaviour to Oliver de Clifson, who had served him and Charles de Blois with uncommon fidelity. He had been taken prisoner in the course of the

A. C. 1344. war, and exchanged by Edward for the lord Stafford, at the solicitation of his brother Amaury, who happened to be in the service of the countess of Brittany. The preference given on this occasion by the king of England to Oliver over John de Leon, who was also his prisoner, and the circumstance of his brother's being attached to John de Montfort, excited the jealousy of Philip, who was naturally cruel and suspicious: he imagined that Oliver had entered into some engagements with Edward; and ordered him to be apprehended on this suspicion. Immediately after his arrest, this unfortunate nobleman was, without any form of trial, beheaded at Paris; his body hung on a gibbet, his head exposed at Nantz, and his estate confiscated.

Hist. General de la France.
D'Argentre's Hist. de Bretagne.

Institution of the garter.

This act of tyranny was so highly resented in Bretagne, that the baron de Loheac abandoned the French interest; and the people of Vannes rising in arms, declared for John de Montfort, after having expelled the pope's garrison. These circumstances served to confirm the suspicion of Philip, who forthwith issued orders for apprehending Geoffrey de Malestroit, with his son John, and eight other noblemen of Bretagne; and though they had all distinguished themselves in the service of Charles de Blois, they were executed in the same infamous manner which had been practised upon Oliver de Clifton. Edward of England had proclaimed in all parts of Europe a Round Table to be held at Windsor, on the nineteenth day of January; and granted safe-conducts to knights of all countries, without distinction, who should honour his festival with their presence. Philip of France, either inspired by emulation, or apprehensive that the bravest knights in Europe, allured by this invitation, would engage in the service of England, endeavoured to divert them from crossing the sea on this occasion, by proclaiming such another Round Table, on the
very

very same day at Paris, on pretence of doing honour to the nuptials of his second son Philip, with Blanche the posthumous daughter of Charles the Fair, his predecessor. This institution answered two purposes: as it not only rivalled the splendour of Edward, but also decoyed a number of Breton lords to his court, where they were shamefully detained as prisoners, in violation of the truce, as well as of the safe-conduct, which, in such cases, was extended to all persons without distinction. Notwithstanding the efforts of the French king to diminish the lustre of Edward's festival, it was celebrated with surprising magnificence, amidst a vast concourse of knights from all parts of Christendom. The order of king Arthur's knights of the Round Table was revived, under the name of the Garter, in a hall built at Windsor for the purpose: and after they had feasted for some days, the tournaments began in presence of the queen and all the ladies of the first distinction; so that the combatants had all the concurring motives of glory and gallantry to signalize their prowess and address.

Rymer.

When the parliament met in June, Edward complained to them of Philip's cruelty, injustice, and violation of the truce; for, besides the infractions we have already mentioned, he had sent a numerous body of troops into Guienne, where they reduced castles and towns, and ravaged the country. He likewise attempted to debauch Edward's allies from his interest, even during the negotiation before his holiness; and every part of his conduct denoted a fixed resolution to prosecute the war. The earls of Derby and Arundel had been sent with troops into Guienne, to defend that country from the incursions of the French; but as further preparations seemed necessary, the parliament exhorted him to pursue vigorous measures, either to conclude a final treaty of peace, or terminate the war by a decisive battle.

Troops sent into Gascony under the command of the earl of Derby.

A. C. 1344.

battle. This advice was supported with the grant of subsidies to equip an armament against France, and defend the border from the irruption of the Scots, who professed themselves entirely devoted to the interest of Philip. But this was not the only fund from which Edward derived supplies for the service of the year. He summoned all freeholders possessing forty pounds a year, who were not already knighted, to come and receive that honour; and a considerable sum arose from the fees of that ceremony. He issued orders to his military tenants in Ireland, to furnish two hundred men at arms, and five hundred light horse, to rendezvous at Portsmouth on the fifteenth day of September, in order to be embarked on a foreign expedition. A number of Genoese galleys were engaged in the service. The castles in Brittany belonging to the countess of Montfort were ordered to be well fortified and provided with strong garrisons; and Sir Thomas Dagworth was sent over with a small reinforcement to her assistance. The troops sent to Gascony under the command of the earls of Derby, Arundel, Oxford, and Pembroke, with the lord Stafford and Manny, consisted of five hundred knights, two thousand archers, and a large body of infantry: and the young earl of Salisbury, with six hundred men at arms, and two thousand archers, was sent to serve under Baliol, appointed to defend the northern Marches.

Froissart.
Knayghton.

Who de-
feats the
French ar-
my at Au-
baroche.

The earl of Derby landing at Bayonne on the sixth day of June, advanced immediately towards Bergerac on the Dodogne, where the French were posted under the command of Barnard count de Pisse Jourdain, whom he found strongly intrenched in the suburbs; from whence he could not have been dislodged without great difficulty. But the French, confiding in their numbers, made a sally; and, being routed, the English entered with them pell-mell into their intrenchments, from which they retired

retired to the city. Here the count stood one assault, A. C. 1344. in which the English made a lodgment on the breach; and then, retreating in the night to La Reole, disposed of his troops in several garrisons, which were all reduced by the victors: after which success the earl of Derby returned to Bourdeaux. The count de l'Isle was no sooner apprised of his retreat, than he suddenly assembled a body of twelve thousand men; and investing Auberoche, defended by an English garrison, battered it with engines so furiously, that in six days the fortifications were almost ruined. Derby, understanding the distress of his countrymen, marched out of Bourdeaux by night, with a small body of lances and bowmen, after having sent orders to the earl of Pembroke, who lay at Bergerac, to meet him with a reinforcement at Libourne, which he reached unperceived before morning: here having halted all day in expectation of being joined by Pembroke, he proceeded on his march at night; and, early in the morning, arrived in a wood at the distance of two leagues from Auberoche. In this situation he continued the best part of the day, till despairing of the reinforcement, he by the advice of the gallant Sir Walter de Manny, resolved to beat up the French quarters, while the enemy should be at supper. With this view they marched under covert of the wood, till they were close to one quarter of their camp; then fell upon them so unexpectedly, that the counts de l'Isle, Perigort, and Valentinois, were taken in their tents before they had time to make the least resistance; and their soldiers charged with such impetuosity, that they could make very little opposition: but while this quarter was filled with rout and confusion, the other half of the French army, commanded by the count of Comminges, took to their arms; and, being drawn up in order of battle, advanced against the English. The earl
of

A. C. 1344. of Derby, though greatly inferior to them in point of number, resolved to make one vigorous effort to complete the work he had so successfully begun; and, reassembling his scattered forces, attacked the enemy with incredible impetuosity. He met with a very warm reception, and, an obstinate engagement ensuing, both sides fought a long time with dubious success, until the garrison of Auberoche hearing the trumpets sounding the charge on both sides, and descrying from a tower some English banners, though it was now the twilight, forthwith made a sally, and, falling on the rear of the French, decided the fate of the battle. The enemy was immediately involved in darkness and disorder, and utterly defeated with considerable slaughter; their loss in both actions amounting to seven thousand slain, and twelve hundred taken prisoners; among whom were nine counts and viscounts, and two hundred knights and gentlemen of distinction. The earl of Pembroke arrived next morning with his reinforcement, and was not a little chagrined to find such a notable victory obtained without his participation. The force of the enemy in those parts being now entirely broken, the two earls retired to Bourdeaux; from whence Derby sailed for England to solicit succours, after having put his troops in winter-quarters.

Froissart.
Tyrrel.

John de
Montfort
makes his
escape from
the Louvre,
and dies at
Hennebon.

A. C. 1345.

With these he returned in June to Guienne, and immediately took the field, in order to recover the other places which had been conquered or surprized by Philip and his predecessor. He accordingly reduced every town and castle which he invested, except Blaye, which was so gallantly defended by William Rochechouart and Guichard d'Angle, afterwards knight of the garter, that the earl of Derby, after having made several unsuccessful assaults, thought proper to put an end to the campaign, and return to Bourdeaux, as the season was already far advanced.

advanced. About this period John de Montfort, A. C. 1345. after a severe imprisonment of near four years in the Louvre, found means to escape in the disguise of a beggar; and, coming over to England, where his wife resided, solicited the assistance of Edward so effectually, that all the conferences being at an end, and every prospect of a pacification entirely vanished, the king resolved to declare war against France, without further hesitation. He appointed the earl of Northampton his lieutenant, in that kingdom and in Brittany, empowering him to defy Philip de Valois as a perjured truce-breaker; an usurper of the crown of France; and a mortal enemy to king Edward, his lawful sovereign. John de Montfort having done homage at Lambeth for Brittany, to Edward, as king of France and lord paramount of that dutchy, went thither in the beginning of June, with the earls of Northampton, Oxford, some other noblemen, and a considerable body of forces, by which he was enabled to reduce Dinah, and encouraged to invest Quimper-Corentin, which had lately been taken by Charles de Blois, who massacred fourteen hundred of the inhabitants: but his competitor advancing with a numerous army to the relief of the place, he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, and retired to Hennebon, where he died of a fever. Nevertheless, the earl of Northampton defeated Charles in a pitched battle near Morlaix, and took Roche-derien by assault; but, winter approaching, he left the affairs of Bretagne to the care of Sir Thomas Dagworth, and returned to England.

Rymer.
Knyghton.

Edward, when he empowered the earl of Northampton to bid Philip defiance in his name, notified this transaction to the pope, and published a manifesto for the justification of his conduct. This solemn declaration of a rupture between the two kingdoms, brought over a number of foreign soldiers

Godfrey de
Harcourt
takes refuge
in England.

A. C. 1345 diers of fortune. They longed to distinguish themselves under the eye of Edward, who, in valour, gallantry, and generosity, was universally allowed to exceed all the princes of his time: and among these was Godfrey de Harcourt, lord of St. Sauveur le Vicomte in Normandy, who had been expelled the French court in consequence of a quarrel with Robert Bertrand, baron of Briquebec, marshal of France. They had drawn their swords in the king's presence, and Godfrey being cited before the parliament of Paris, refused to appear. After having been summoned four times, Philip banished him the realm, and confiscated his estate. Not contented with having punished his offence in this manner, he wreaked his vengeance upon his friends and relations. William Bacon, Richard de Piercy, and the lord of Roche-Tesson, repairing to the tournament at Paris, were arrested and accused of high-treason, and underwent the ignominious death which had been inflicted upon Oliver de Clifton, though, like him, they had always adhered to the interest of Charles de Blois. Godfrey would have been treated in the same manner, had not he retired to the court of John duke of Brabant, who being his kinsman, tried in vain to make his peace with Philip: there he continued, boiling with resentment against his persecutor, till the defiance of Edward was published, and then he hastened to the court of England, where he did homage to the king for his lands in France, and filled the place of his countryman Robert D'Artois, in the English councils.

Before Edward would engage in an expedition against France, he summoned his former allies to perform their engagements, and in particular the duke of Brabant, with whom he had agreed upon a match between Jane, the duke's eldest daughter and heiress, and his own son Edward, who had been declared prince of Wales during the last parliament.

Rymer.
Knyghton.
Ardevelt is
assassinated
at Ghent.

The

The pope refused to grant a dispensation, as the parties were in the third degree of consanguinity; and the duke was by this time cooled in his attachment to Edward, by the indefatigable intrigues of the French court, which had found means to influence his conduct. A treaty was likewise set on foot with Lewis of Bavaria, the emperor, and his son Lewis marquis of Brandenburg; but, in all probability, Edward had not money sufficient to gratify the rapacious disposition of German auxiliaries; so that the negociation did not take effect. He placed more dependence upon Jacob van Ardevelt, the demagogue of Ghent, who undertook to prevail upon the Flemings to depose their own count in favour of Edward prince of Wales, who should erect Flanders into a dutchy. On the strength of his assurances, the king, leaving his son Lionel guardian of the kingdom, sailed on the third day of July from the port of Sandwich, with the prince of Wales, a splendid retinue, and a strong body of forces on board of a numerous fleet; and, landing at Sluys, was visited by the deputies of the chief towns in Flanders, whom he regaled with a magnificent entertainment. On this occasion Ardevelt proposed that they should insist upon their count's renouncing his alliance with Philip de Valois; or, in case of refusal, shift their allegiance to the prince of Wales, who would erect their country into a dukedom, and whose father would protect them in such a manner, that they would flourish in commerce above all other nations in Europe. The deputies startled at this proposal, desired time to consult their constituents, promising to return in one month with a definitive answer; and Edward, perceiving their aversion and resentment to the propounder, prevailed upon Ardevelt to accept a guard of five hundred Welshmen, under the command of Sir John de Mautravers. The deputies

A. C. 1345. deputies of Ghent no sooner returned to that city, than they inflamed the populace with an exaggerated report of this transaction, insinuating that Ardevelt wanted to depose and destroy the ancient race of their sovereigns, to which they were strongly attached. Gerard Denis, dean of the weavers, and some other burghers, who envied the wealth and popularity of that citizen, and were well affected to the count's party, diffused disadvantageous rumours to the prejudice of Ardevelt; alledging that he had embezzled the revenues of his country, and remitted vast sums of money to England, where he intended to fix his habitation. These accusations gained credit with the multitude, which now raged with indignation against the man whom they had formerly adored; and when Ardevelt returned from Bruges, he soon felt the effects of their fury: his house was immediately beset by the populace, who broke into it like a torrent, and sacrificed him, with some of his relations, to their rage; after having slaughtered seventy of his Welsh guard. Edward was equally incensed and concerned at this outrage, which totally overthrew the plan he had projected; but the great towns of Flanders sending deputies to clear themselves from all imputation of being accessory to the assassination, and the city of Ghent laying the blame upon the populace, his resentment gave way to his interest, and he renewed his alliance with them before he departed. He intended to make another expedition into Brittany, before his return to his own dominions; but being detained by contrary winds and tempestuous weather, he was obliged to postpone that enterprize, and sail directly for England, where he landed on the twenty-sixth day of July. The advantage which might have accrued from this alliance, was lost by the untimely fate of William II. count of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, who was killed

in

in an action against the Frisians; the death of William marquis of Juliers and earl of Cambridge; and the defection of John of Hainault, who now declared in favour of Philip. These disasters discouraged the rest of the allies in such a manner, as dispelled all thoughts of invading France by the way of Flanders. But Edward persisted in his resolution to prosecute the war, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the pope, who earnestly recommended another treaty; and the winter was employed in making preparations for the expedition.

Ubbo Em-
mius.

He appointed the rendezvous of his fleet and forces at Portsmouth, on Midlent Sunday: but his navy being dispersed in a storm, it was deferred till the middle of May; and then he was prevented by contrary winds from executing his first design of landing in Guienne, which was about this time invaded by John duke of Normandy, at the head of a prodigious army. While he continued wind-bound, with a fleet consisting of a thousand vessels, in which was embarked a body of troops, amounting to near forty thousand Welsh and English, headed by the prince of Wales and the flower of the nobility, Godfrey de Harcourt persuaded him to change the plan of operations, and make a descent upon Normandy, the inhabitants of which he represented as disaffected, degenerate, and defenceless. The king relished his advice, and sailing from St. Helen's on the tenth day of July, landed in two days at La Hogue St. Vaast in Normandy. The greatest part of his fleet he sent back immediately; and ordered the earl of Huntingdon, who commanded the rest, to cruize along the coast, and destroy the ships which the king of France had equipped in different ports for an invasion of England. This service he performed with great success; and having ravaged the country, and burned the towns along shore, returned to La Hogue, in order

A. C. 1345.
A. C. 1346.
Edward
makes a de-
scent upon
Normandy,
and sacks
the city of
Caen.

Avesbury.

A. C. 1346. to attend the motions of the army. Edward, having refreshed his troops, which had been long pent up in vessels, divided his army into three bodies, and began his march towards Valognes, from whence he proceeded to Carentan, which opened its gates at his approach. In the route he himself commanded the main body, while the earl of Warwick and Godfrey de Harcourt, at the head of the other two divisions, ravaged the country to a great extent upon the right and left, and found great plenty of provisions, with a very valuable booty. In this manner he advanced to St. Lo, which was taken after a slight resistance; and, continuing his march, arrived on the twenty-sixth day of the month in the neighbourhood of Caen, the capital of Lower Normandy. This place was garrisoned by a body of troops, under the command of the count D'Eu constable of France, and the count de Tankerville chamberlain of Normandy, with the bishop of Bayeux: besides these a great number of gentlemen in the adjacent country had thrown themselves into it, at the approach of the English. Over-rating their own strength and valour, they next day made a sally with a great number of the inhabitants, who were so warmly received by the English archers, that they soon betook themselves to flight with great precipitation. The constable had lined the river Orne with regular troops, in order to defend the bridge: but such was the confusion of the townsmen, that they bore down every thing in their retreat; and the English pursuing with great impetuosity, they found all resistance impracticable. The bridge and barriers were forced, the constable and chamberlain, with about two hundred and fifty knights and gentlemen taken prisoners; and the best part of their forces put to the sword. The city being sacked and plundered, yielded an immense booty, which, together

ther with the prisoners of distinction, and three hundred of the wealthiest citizens, was put on board of the fleet lying at the mouth of the Orne, from whence it returned to England, laden with the spoils of Normandy.

A. C. 1346

Mezerai.
Avesbury.

The French king had, upon the first news of Edward's descent in Normandy, dispatched messengers to John the blind king of Bohemia, his son Charles king of the Romans, the king of Majorca, the duke of Lorraine, the count of Flanders, and his other allies, desiring them to come and join him with all expedition. He appointed a general rendezvous at Paris of all the military forces of France, except such as was employed in the siege of Aguilon, and in the mean time marched with a body of forces towards Rouen, where he broke down the bridge over the Seine, to prevent the English from crossing that river. Edward, after the reduction of Caen, had received the submission of Bayeux and several other towns, and resolving to profit by the consternation that prevailed over the whole country, continued his march towards Rouen, notwithstanding the remonstrances and intreaties of the two cardinal legates, who met him at Lisieux with proposals for a suspension of hostilities. Without paying the least regard to their importunities, he proceeded to the banks of the Seine, where he saw Philip posted on the other side with a numerous army, in such a manner as rendered the passage impracticable. In order to provoke him to an engagement, he ravaged the country under his eye, took several towns, and reduced a great number of villages to ashes and desolation. In this employment he continued his progress, till he arrived at Poissy, where he ordered the bridge which had been broken down to be repaired, and passing the river in the face of the militia, which were routed by the earl of Northampton, made himself master of Pontoise, while Philip returned to Paris, the inhabitants

He forces
the passage
of the
Somme at
Blanche-
taque.

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of which were terribly alarmed by the success of the English, who sent detached parties to ravage the neighbourhood of that capital. Their drooping spirits, however, were soon animated by the appearance of the prodigious army which rendezvoused at St. Denis. Philip, elated at the prospect, sent a letter to the king of England, containing a challenge to give him battle on the plain of Vaugirard, or between Franconville and Pontoise; and Edward replied, that Philip should find him always ready for an engagement, but he would never allow his enemy to prescribe the day and place of battle. Mean while he marched under the walls of Beauvais, and advanced to Poix, after having routed the militia of Amiens, and a party of horse belonging to the king of Bohemia. When he arrived at Ayraines, he began to be in want of provision, and found himself enclosed between the Somme, the sea, and the French army, which amounted to one hundred thousand men. Piquigny and Pont de Remy were too well fortified to be taken by assault; all the other bridges over the river were broken down, save those at Abbeville, and all the passages so well guarded, that he could not attempt them with any probability of success. At Oyselmont he found a French prisoner, who, in consideration of his liberty, and the reward of one hundred nobles, conducted him to the ford of Blanchetaque, which he found guarded by Godemar du Fray, at the head of ten thousand regular troops, reinforced by the militia of the country. Edward, seeing the necessity of passing at all events, was the first man who entered the river, bidding his soldiers follow him; and they obeying this order with great alacrity, a very obstinate dispute ensued; for the French cavalry rushing from the bank, engaged them in the midst of the river: but they were so terribly galled by the arrows of the English archers, that they did not

long

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long stand the shock of the men at arms, who soon forced their passage to the other side; and then the enemy fled in great disorder to Abbéville, where Philip arrived that same evening, at the head of an immense army.

The king of England having resolved to besiege Calais, followed that route by slow marches, and halted the first night at the castle of Noyelle, from whence he detached parties to burn Crotoy and other towns in the neighbourhood. Next day he arrived at Crecy, where he encamped on an eminence, with a wood in his rear, and placed the baggage-waggons on the flanks, to secure them from the attack of the enemy. While he thus pursued his purpose with great intrepidity and deliberation, Philip imagining that he fled before his arms, resolved to overtake and chastise the fugitive who had made such havock in his kingdom. He accordingly marched from Abbeville towards the village of Crecy; and Edward being informed of his approach, drew up his army, consisting of thirty thousand men, in order of battle. The first line was commanded by the prince of Wales, just turned of fifteen, accompanied by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, Godfrey de Harcourt, the lords Stafford, Holland, Chandois, Clifford, with the flower of the English nobility, eight hundred men at arms, four thousand archers, and six thousand Welsh infantry. The second line was conducted by the earls of Arundel and Northampton, the lords Willoughby, Roos, Bassët of Sipcote and Multon, Sir Lewis Tufton, and a great number of gentlemen, eight thousand men at arms, four thousand halbardiers, add about half that number of archers. Those two lines were formed on the declivity of the hill in such a manner, as to support one another; and the second outflanked the first, so as to prevent its being surrounded by the enemy

Obtains a complete victory over the French at Crecy.

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on the left, where it was secured by a semicircular ditch dug in the night for this purpose, terminating in the park of Crecy, and the small brook of Maye which waters that village. The king himself commanded the third line, posted on the brow of the eminence behind the other two, composed of seven hundred men at arms, five thousand three hundred billmen, and six thousand archers: he was attended by the lords Mowbray, Mortimer, Dagworth, Sir Hugh Hastings, and other persons of distinction. He and the prince of Wales had that morning received the sacrament with great devotion; and his behaviour denoted the calm intrepidity of invincible courage and resignation. Even the deportment of the prince of Wales, though a boy, was, in all respects, manly, heroic, and worthy of the great example he proposed to imitate. The army being thus arranged, the king rode from rank to rank, with a cheerful countenance, encouraging the soldiers to exert themselves for the honour of their country, the defence of their sovereign, and the preservation of their own lives; and his words, his amiable figure, and his complacency, animated them even to a degree of rapturous expectation. That they might have every motive to inspire them with extraordinary courage, he knighted fifty young gentlemen; and among the rest Sir John Beauchamp, whom he appointed to bear the royal standard in the battle. These previous dispositions being made, he ordered his men at arms to dismount, that the horses might not be fatigued before the battle began, and his soldiers to be refreshed with a plentiful meal; after which they lay down in their ranks upon the grass to take their repose, that they might be fresh and vigorous at the approach of the enemy. The French king had begun his march at sun-rise from Abbeville, with an army of one hundred thousand men; and having

ing advanced two leagues, halted to draw up his cavalry in order of battle, while the infantry continued their march. Being now at the distance of five miles from the English, he detached four knights to view the posture of the enemy, which they were permitted to survey at leisure without molestation. They were astonished at the silence, order, and composure of the English army; and one of them, who was an experienced soldier belonging to the king of Bohemia, assured Philip there was no danger of Edward's running away. He told him, there was neither fear nor precipitation in the countenance of the English troops, but great serenity and resolution; he said their disposition was excellent, and their bodies in full vigour; and exhorted the king of France to advance no farther that night, but allow his infantry to refresh themselves from the fatigue of a tedious march, otherwise he would not answer for the consequence, as they were at present spent with hard duty, and moving in the utmost disorder. Philip perceived the sanity of this advice, and sent immediate orders to the van to halt, until they should receive further instructions. But his commands were very imperfectly obeyed; for his army, comprehending a great number of auxiliaries conducted by independent princes, among whom there was no subordination, they disputed the post of honour with each other, and vied in pressing forward to attack the enemy: when the front ranks halted, those who succeeded continuing to move with great impetuosity, that enormous body was pushed on towards Crecy in such confusion, as disabled them from acting with the least regularity. Even Philip himself, with the princes of the blood, were carried away by the croud; and he found it impossible to retard their motion, until they came within sight of the English. Then he made shift to arrange them in three distinct bodies, the first of which, com-

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manded by John de Luxemburgh the blind king of Bohemia, consisted of three thousand men at arms, nine and twenty thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bows, planted opposite to the English archers. The second division, conducted by Charles count of Alençon, was composed of four thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand infantry, advanced in a line with the first battalia. Philip in person commanded the third body as a reserve, consisting of twelve thousand men at arms, and fifty thousand infantry. About three in the afternoon, the French king began the battle, by ordering the Genoese to charge; but they were so fatigued with their march, that they cried out for a little rest before they should engage. The count of Alençon, being informed of their petition, rode up and reviled them as cowards, commanding them to begin the onset without delay. They advanced with great reluctance, which was encreased by a heavy shower that fell that instant, and rendered their bow-strings useles; so that the discharge they made could produce very little effect. On the other hand, the English archers, who had kept their bows in cases, and were favoured by a sudden gleam of sunshine that flashed in the faces of the enemy, let fly their arrows so thick, and with such good aim, that terrible havock was made among the Genoese, who finding themselves exposed to certain death, without being able to annoy their enemy, began to fly with disorder and precipitation, and were trodden down by the men at arms, under the command of the count of Alençon. That nobleman making a wheel in order to avoid the bowmen, charged with great fury the body conducted by the prince of Wales, who sustained the shock without flinching, and gave the count such a warm reception, that the greatest part of his men at arms was left dead upon the spot. While
he

he maintained this conflict, the column of archers A. C. 1346. forty deep, posted on the right, which had already defeated the Genoese, was broke, by an impetuous onset of three squadrons of French and German knights, and a great number of men at arms; so that the prince was attacked both in front and flank at the same time. In this emergency, the earl of Warwick dispatched a messenger to the king, desiring him to advance to the prince's succour. Edward, whom he found in a windmill viewing the engagement, asked with great deliberation, if his son was dead, wounded, or unhorsed? and being answered in the negative, "Well then, said he, go back and tell Warwick, that I shall not intermeddle in the fray, but let my boy win his spurs by his own valour." He perceived the confusion of the French, and their standards dropping very fast in that place where the prince was stationed; so that he concluded the enemy had miscarried in their assault: and as he had lately bestowed the honour of knighthood upon his son, he was loath to deprive him of any share of the glory. His conjecture was just: before the knight returned with his answer, the archers had closed, and the earls of Arundel and Northampton advanced with a fresh body, by which the assailants were surrounded and cut in pieces. These victorious bands, joining under prince Edward, who fought with amazing prowess, advanced to attack in their turn the main body of the enemy commanded by Philip, who had been prevented, by the disorderly flight of his first line, from coming up to sustain the troops which had broke through the English archers. Here the battle was renewed with great obstinacy; Philip in person, the king of Bohemia, and his son Charles, with a number of auxiliary princes, animating their soldiers to deeds of glory, not only by words, but by the example of their own personal prowess.

A. C. 1346. prowess. Nothing, however, could resist the impetuosity and valour of the prince of Wales and his attendants. Flushed with the success he had already obtained, and inspired by the message he had received from his father, under whose eye he acted in this first essay of his manhood, he redoubled his efforts, and bore down all opposition. The blind king of Bohemia, whose ambition had for many years embroiled the best part of Europe, enquiring about the fate of the day, was told that the French were in terrible disorder; a great number of noblemen slain; that his son Charles had been obliged to retire dangerously wounded; that the English had made a dreadful carnage; and that the prince of Wales bore down every thing before him with irresistible valour. John having received this information, commanded his knights to lead him into the hottest part of the battle against the young warrior. Accordingly four of his attendants placing him in the middle, and interlacing the bridles of their horses, they rushed together into the thickest of the enemy, and the blind king interchanged a few strokes with Edward; but they were soon parted, and the Bohemian, with his followers, fell in the confusion of the battle*. By this time Philip himself, after two horses had been killed under him, was grievously wounded in the neck and thigh; and being carried out of the battle by John of Hainault, the standard of France was beaten down. Then all resistance was laid aside; universal rout and undistinguished carnage ensued: though a great number of the French would have escaped by favour of the approaching night, had not the king of England ordered large fires to be made on

* He wore three ostrich feathers for his crest; and as he acted in the capacity of a volunteer, he assumed the motto Ich Dien, which in the Ger-

man language signifies, I Serve. This device young Edward appropriated to himself; and it has been adopted by all succeeding princes of Wales.

the neighbouring hills, by the light of which the victors prevented them from rallying or uniting, and completed the slaughter. Edward, seeing the victory accomplished, descended from the hill, and running up to the prince of Wales, embraced him tenderly in the sight of the whole army, saying, " My valiant son, God grant you may persevere in the course you have so gloriously begun. You have acquitted yourself nobly ; and well are you worth the kingdom that will be your inheritance." The prince made no other reply than that of a profound obeisance ; and indeed his modesty and moderation were altogether unexampled. In this famous battle, which was fought on the twenty sixth day of August, John king of Bohemia, James king of Majorca, Ralph duke of Lorraine, the counts of Alençon, Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Harcourt, Auxerre, Aumale, St. Pol, and Sancerre, four and twenty bannerets, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men at arms, and thirty thousand infantry, are said to have fallen, while the loss of Edward did not exceed three knights, and an inconsiderable number of soldiers. Philip, attended by five knights and about sixty followers, was carried to the castle of La Broye, about a league from Crecy ; where, having taken some refreshment, he set out at midnight for Amiens, where he arrived early next morning. The victorious Edward having sounded a retreat, and ordered his men to be upon their guard all night, lest the French should rally, detached a party of lances and archers at day-light, to pursue the fugitives ; and they meeting in a fog with the militia of Rouen and Beauvais, on their march to join Philip's army, routed them at the first onset. The archbishop of Rouen and the grand prior of France, advancing with a fresh reinforcement, were defeated and slain, with two thousand
of

A. C. 1346.

of their followers. The English gathering some French standards that lay scattered on the field of battle, planted them on a neighbouring hill, as a decoy to the enemy who were dispersed about the villages: and the stratagem succeeded; for they flocked in numbers to their colours, and were hewn in pieces without mercy; and indeed the only circumstance which tarnished the glory of this victory, was the order which Edward issued before this engagement, to give no quarter. The same injunction is said to have been laid upon the French army by their monarch: but this was an instance of barbarity, in which his example ought not to have been followed. Though he refused mercy to the living, he was extremely courteous to the dead: he sent the body of John king of Bohemia to his family; he ordered the field to be consecrated, attended the funerals of the noblemen who had lost their lives in the battle, and ordered the common soldiers to be interred with great decency. Such acts of humility and moderation, doubtless serve to dignify the character of a monarch, and perhaps to quiet any scruples of conscience that might intervene: but a prince ought to be very well satisfied with the justness of his quarrel, before he begins to shed such seas of blood, and commences the minister of horror, death, ruin, and desolation. Edward laid claim to the crown of France, to which he certainly had no right; and this whole campaign was employed in ravaging the lands, burning the habitations, and butchering the persons of the people over whom he wanted to rule.

Barnes.
Mezerai.
Froissart.

Progress of
the war in
Guienne.

The king of England having stayed three days on the field of battle, continued his march for Calais, which he invested on the third day of September; and there we shall leave him to take a retrospective view of the operations in Guienne. At the latter end of the preceding year, Philip had sent

sent his son, duke of Normandy, with a numerous army to recover the places which Henry earl of Lancaster had reduced in that province; and he accordingly arrived at Thoulouse about the end of December. From thence he marched, in the beginning of the year, to Miremont, which he reduced: Villefranche met with the same fate; and then he undertook the siege of Engoulesme, the garrison of which was commanded by John de Norwich, who made a gallant defence, until his provisions beginning to fail, he proposed a cessation of hostilities till Candlemas-day, that he might be at leisure to pay his devotions to the Blessed Virgin; John agreeing to the proposal, he packed up his baggage in waggons over night, and marched off with his garrison to Aiguillon, the most important place in all that country. It was well provided with stores and a good garrison, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, Sir Walter de Manny, and John de Mowbray, who repaired the fortifications, and took every other measure for making a vigorous defence, in case the siege should be undertaken by the duke of Normandy. These precautions proved very necessary; for, after that prince had taken Tonneins, Damasan, Port St. Marie, he invested Aiguillon, and began the most memorable siege which had been carried on for many ages. Battering engines of a prodigious size were plied against the place incessantly, and assaults given for a week together without intermission, that the garrison might be tired out with continual fatigue; but the French were repulsed in every attack, and the duke, after an infinite number of fruitless attempts, despairing of taking the place by force, resolved to reduce it by famine. This task was rendered impracticable, by the vigilance and activity of the earl of Lancaster, who, though his forces were not sufficient to hazard a battle with the French, found means

Memorable
siege of
Aiguillon.

A. C. 1346.

to intercept their convoys of provision ; so that the immense army of the besiegers were grievously distressed. What aggravated John's chagrin, was a rash vow he had made, to continue the siege until the town should capitulate. He therefore struggled with a variety of difficulties, till he received the news of Edward's landing in Normandy ; then he made one general effort in an assault with his whole army, which lasted from morning till night, when he was obliged to desist, after having sustained considerable damage : by this time his father commanded him to relinquish the enterprize, and even obtained the pope's absolution, with respect to the vow which he so religiously observed. Thus released, he raised the siege on the twentieth day of August, and retired with such precipitation, that great part of his tents and equipage was left behind.

Avesbury.
Froissart.

Sir Walter de Manny, having obtained a safe-conduct from the duke for himself and his followers, set out immediately for Calais, to join the army commanded by Edward ; and the earl of Lancaster no sooner understood that the duke of Normandy had retreated towards Paris, than he made an irruption into the Agenois : there he reduced Villareal, recovered Tonneins, and subdued several other fortresses ; then he marched towards Saintonge, made himself master of Sauveterre, and ravaged the country without opposition. Hearing that Sir Walter de Manny and his detachment were arrested at St. Jean de Angely, he passed the Charente ; and although Sir Walter himself had made his escape, he took the place by storm, and set the other prisoners at liberty. He had already received the submission of Mirebeau, Mortagne Surmer, Aunay, Surgeres, Benon, Marans, and Taillebourg ; and now advancing to Lusignan, reduced the town by assault, and compelled the castle to surrender. Having left a garrison in this important place, he marched to

Poitiers,

Poitiers, which he carried at the first attack, and abandoned to pillage. As he could not spare a sufficient garrison for such an extensive city, he ordered the walls and fortifications to be dismantled; and then proceeding to Bourdeaux, returned in the beginning of the year to England.

A. C. 1346.

Rymer.

The English people were so transported with the news of the glorious victory which their king had obtained at Crecy, that they forgot the burthen of the heavy taxes under which they laboured, and cheerfully resolved to grant what farther subsidies should be found necessary for the prosecution of the war. The parliament assembled by prince Lionel, on the eleventh day of September, being made acquainted with the particulars of the battle, and presented with a paper found in the archives of Caen, containing the proposal of the Normans for the invasion and conquest of England, they forthwith granted an aid of two fifteenths and tenths, to be levied in two years for the service of his majesty. Being asked from the throne if they wanted the redress of any grievances, they presented some petitions to the clerk of the parliament; and they received satisfaction in a statute, enacting, that merchants importing false money, should be punished as false coiners; that persons contributing to the defence of the coast, should not be obliged to furnish arms and other warlike necessaries for the land-service; that justices of the peace and sheriffs should be chosen from among the chief freeholders of every country; and that no grants, either for life or in fee, should be made of those offices. The commons likewise moved, that all monks and friars who were aliens, should be obliged to quit the realm; that the pensions granted to cardinals, and the abbot of Clugny, should be abolished; that aliens promoted to livings in this kingdom, the greater part of whom consisted of taylors, shoemakers, and venial retainers to cardi-

Proceedings
in parlia-
ment.

nals,

A. C. 1346. nals, should be deprived and exiled, and their benefices given to poor English scholars. The session concluded with a grant by the lords and military tenants of forty shillings a knight's fee, as an usual aid due upon the knighthood of the king's eldest son, which was now proved in a certificate subscribed by the earls of Arundel, Northumberland, and other English noblemen, who were present when young Edward was knighted by his father.

Rot. Parl.

Affairs of
Scotland.

Before Edward embarked upon his last expedition, the Scots, whose king was entirely devoted to the French interest, invaded Westmoreland, under the command of Sir Alexander Strahan and some other officers, and reduced Penrith, with several other towns to ashes. But the bishop of Carlisle, with Sir Thomas Lucy, and Sir Robert Ogle, having assembled a body of forces, harrassed them in such a manner, that they were fain to retreat with precipitation; and Sir Alexander, with a party of foragers, was taken prisoner. Ogle was, for his valour on this occasion, appointed governor of Cumberland; and as Edward employed his whole attention in preparing for his descent upon France, he consented to a truce with the king of Scotland. The lords Mowbray, Roos, and Sir Thomas Lucy, were sent as commissioners to compromise all differences between the two kingdoms; and if we may believe the Scottish historians, Edward offered to purchase a solid peace with that nation, by giving up Berwick and renouncing Baliol. These proposals are far from being improbable, if we consider how eager the king of England was to exert his whole strength against Philip de Valois, and the experience he had of the difficulty that must have attended the intire conquest of Scotland, which in his own reign, as well as in that of his grandfather, had risen with fresh vigour from every overthrow, and always indemnified itself at the expence of England.

Though David Bruce consented to a suspension of A. C. 1346. hostilities he did not relish a treaty, and absolutely refused to detach himself from the king of France, who had protected him in his adversity. He concluded that Edward fought only to amuse him until he should have humbled a more powerful adversary; that he might subdue Scotland at his leisure, when she would have no ally upon whose assistance she could depend. The Scottish nation seems to have been of the same opinion: for the parliament of that kingdom approved of his design to invade England, which was now unfurnished of her best troops; and the French encouraged the resolution, in hope that it would make an effectual diversion in favour of their monarch, who had not as yet recollected himself from his defeat at Crecy.

Thus instigated, David, in the month of October, entered England, at the head of fifty thousand men, took Lidel by assault, and put the garrison to the sword, exacted heavy contributions from the monks and church of Durham, levied a capitation tax from all persons without distinction, ravaged the country, and committed numberless barbarities. The queen consort was no sooner informed of this invasion than she set out for the North, to encourage the lords of the Marches to do their duty; and in a little time a considerable army was assembled at York, from whence it advanced in four divisions against the enemy, who were encamped in Bear Park, at the distance of three miles from Durham. The first body was commanded by the lord Henry Percy, accompanied by the earl of Angus, the bishop of Durham, and several other noblemen of the North; the archbishop of York conducted the second division, having under his command the bishop of Carlisle and the lord Nevil; the third body was led by the bishop of Lincoln, the lord Mowbray, and Sir Thomas Rokeby: and the rear was brought up by

David king of Scotland invades England with a great army, and is defeated and taken prisoner at Durham.

A. C. 1346. Edward Baliol, attended by the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Roos, and the sheriff of Northumberland. A great number of young noblemen and persons of distinction served as volunteers on this occasion, partly to express their zeal and loyalty in the king's absence, and partly to distinguish themselves under the eye of the queen, who took the field in person. The army consisted chiefly of stout borderers, inured to war and hardship, reinforced by a body of veterans whom Edward had sent over from France; and the whole, when they began their march, amounted to sixteen thousand men; but, in all probability the number was considerably increased, before they came in sight of the enemy, as so many noblemen must have been attended by a great concourse of vassals, in an expedition upon which the fate of the whole kingdom in a great measure depended. David Bruce, apprised of their approach, detached a body of horse, under Douglas, and Sir David Graham, to observe their motions and harass them in their march; but they were so roughly handled by the English archers that they soon turned their backs, though very few of them escaped with their leaders; and this advantage the English deemed a happy omen of success. The Scottish army was formed into one line; the high steward of Scotland and the earl of Marche commanding on the right; the earls of Murray and Douglas being on the left wing; and David, with some French auxiliaries and the flower of his nobility, being stationed in the center. The English archers began the battle with showers of arrows on the left, which galled the Scots under the high steward in such a manner, that he ordered his division to charge sword in hand, and actually broke the bowmen, who falling back upon the division commanded by the lord Piercy, occasioned great confusion and disorder. The enemy

enemy still pressed on with incredible impetuosity, and victory had almost declared in their favour, when Baliol coming up, with four thousand choice horse at a round trot, fell upon the flank of the Scots, who had advanced beyond the rest of their line, and not only sustained the archers, who had given way, but also cut off the communication between the high steward and the main body where Bruce commanded. Thus intercepted, and in great danger of being surrounded, he retreated in good order, while Baliol and the whole force of that wing attacked the center of the Scots, now left exposed by the retreat of their left wing. Here the battle was maintained with great fury on both sides for a considerable time; at length the main body of the Scots gave way: then David refusing to quit the field, his nobles threw themselves into a circular form, and defended him with great gallantry, he himself fighting hand to hand with his enemies, until his followers were surrounded and partly slain, and David received two arrows in his body. Even when he was ready to sink, with the loss of blood, he disdained to ask for quarter; nor would he receive it but at the hands of a gentleman. At last he was made prisoner by John Coupland, after he had struck out two of that gentleman's teeth with his gauntlet. The left wing still continued to maintain their ground, under the command of Douglas and Murray, till this last was slain, and Douglas taken, after almost all his men had been cut in pieces. This victory would have decided the fate of Scotland, had not the high steward retired in good order, and been joined by the fugitives from the battle, so as to form a body which the victors did not think proper to pursue. Nevertheless they left fifteen thousand men lying dead upon the spot, and among these Sir Thomas Charteris chancellor of Scotland, the lord chamberlain, Ed-

A. C. 1346. ward Keith earl mareſchal, the earls of Murray and Stratherne, with ſeveral other noblemen, and a great number of perſons of diſtinction. The earls of Fife, Monteith, Sutherland, Wigton, and Carrick, William lord Douglas, and many other perſonages of note, were among the priſoners. The king was conveyed by Coupland to Ogle-Caſtle in Northumberland, of which he was governor; and when the queen diſpatched a purſuivant with orders to bring him to Durham, he reſuſed to deliver up his priſoner, becauſe in thoſe days the ranſom belonged to the captor. He thought proper however to conſign David Bruce to his friend the lord Nevil, and take ſhipping immediately for Calais, where he communicated the whole tranſaction to the king, who approved of his conduct, created him a knight baronet, and beſtowed upon him a penſion of five hundred pounds, until the ſame value in lands adjoining to his eſtate could be ſettled on him and his heirs for ever; he was ordered however to obey the commands of the queen, who arrived in perſon at the camp before Calais, after having provided for the ſafety of the kingdom, and left the care of the North to the lords Piercy and Nevil, who took Hermitage-Caſtle, and ravaged the whole county of Lothian. Coupland returning to England delivered the Scottiſh king to the ſheriffs of Yorkſhire, who conveyed him to the Tower of London. John Graham earl of Monteith, and Duncan earl of Fife, having formerly ſwore fealty to the king of England, and taken the oath to Edward Baliol as their immediate ſovereign, were without any trial condemned as traitors to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded. This ſentence was pronounced by the king and his council at Calais, and executed upon the earl of Monteith; but Duncan was reſpited till further order, becauſe he happened to be allied to his majeſty.

Heming.
Knyghton.
Rymer.
Fordun.
Buchanan.

Mean while the garrison of Calais made a noble defence under John de Vienne, who repulsed the besiegers in all their assaults. Edward, seeing no prospect of reducing it by force, resolved to starve them into submission; and with that view ordered huts to be built for the reception of his soldiers during the winter. He received supplies of men and provisions from England; and a strong fleet blocked up the harbour, that the governor might receive no assistance by sea. John de Vienne, perceiving his drift, sent above seventeen hundred useless mouths out of the town; and Edward allowed them to pass through the camp without molestation, after he had ordered a small sum of money to be distributed among them for their immediate relief. During this blockade, the king of France endeavoured to detach the Flemings from the interest of England, by offering to grant them great privileges in point of commerce, and to restore the towns he had wrested from them in the beginning of his reign. But they imputed these advances to the necessity of his affairs, and chose rather to depend upon the fortune of Edward, who had promised to recover those places by force of arms, immediately after the reduction of Calais; they even resolved to improve their connexion with England, by a marriage between Edward's eldest daughter Isabel and their young count, who had lost his father in the battle of Crecy, fighting in the service of France. This young prince had attained to the age of sixteen; and, having been educated in the French court, inherited his father's attachment to Philip as well as his aversion to the king of England. He had lately come to take possession of his county, and the Flemings, being bent upon this alliance, kept him in a kind of honourable confinement at Courtray, until he consented to their proposal; then a league of perpetual amity was concluded

A. C. 1346.
Siege of Calais, which is at last reduced by Edward,

A. C. 1347.

A. C. 1347. between him and Edward, and the contracting powers agreed that the nuptials should be solemnized at Easter. As Lewis seemed intirely reconciled to the match, and even eager to consummate the alliance, the Flemings left off watching him with their usual vigilance, and he took the first opportunity of escaping into France, where he was married to Margaret the daughter and heiress of the duke of Brabant. John duke of Normandy marching at the head of a numerous army against the Flemings, invested Cassel; but he was obliged to abandon the siege at the approach of a body of forces, sent by Edward to the assistance of his allies. He then made an unsuccessful attempt on Lillers, and afterwards advanced within two or three leagues of Calais; but the country being wholly wasted, he was obliged to retire for want of subsistence. John de Vienne, finding himself every day more and more hampered by a scarcity of provisions, turned out five hundred inhabitants from the town; and Edward refusing to let them pass, they perished miserably by cold and famine, between the city and the camp of the besiegers, to the eternal reproach of Edward and the governor. The people of Calais were by this time reduced to the last extremity; they had already eaten up all their horses, dogs, cats, and even rats, and now began to devour one another. Letters sent by sea, with an account of their deplorable condition, were intercepted by Edward, who forwarded them to Philip, with a sarcastic message, desiring him to come with all speed to the relief of his distressed subjects. The French king had already appointed the rendezvous of his army at Amiens, where his vassals and allies assembled to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand men; but as the Flemings with a numerous army had undertaken the siege of Aire, and ravaged the adjacent country, he postponed his

march

march to Calais, and advanced against the less formidable enemy, who raised the siege and retired at his approach; then he turned off towards Calais, and, on the thirtieth day of July, encamped within a mile of Edward between Sangate and Witsand. The English camp being surrounded by impassable morasses, except on the side of the Downs of Sand, which was guarded by the navy lying at anchor on the coast, Philip sent four knights to tell the king of England that he would give him battle next Thursday, if he would come forth from his intrenchment and fight him on equal terms. To this message Edward replied, that he would not forego the advantages he had gained, or quit the post where he was certain of reducing the town of Calais, before which he had continued so long; but that it was Philip's business to force him to a battle if he could. That very day two cardinals arrived as mediators from the pope, and prevailed upon both kings to agree upon a truce for four days, that they might have time to settle the preliminaries of a treaty. During this suspension, Edward received a reinforcement of seventeen thousand Flemings and English; and then he sent a letter to Philip in his turn, offering to level all his intrenchments, and give him battle on plain ground, provided he would give security that no provision should in the mean time be conveyed into Calais. The French monarch did not think proper to embrace this proposal; and the negotiation miscarrying, he, on the second day of August, set fire to his tents and retired to Amiens, where he dismissed his army. Next day the governor of Calais desired to capitulate; but Edward insisted upon his surrendering at discretion, that the garrison and inhabitants might be ransomed or punished according to his will and pleasure. It was at length stipulated, that six of the principal burghers should come forth barefooted,

A. C. 1347. with halters about their necks, and present the keys of the town and castle to Edward, who should punish them as he thought proper, and receive all the rest into mercy. Eustace de St. Pierre and five of his fellow-citizens offered themselves voluntarily, as sacrifices for the rest of the inhabitants; and in all probability they would have suffered death, had not the generosity of their behaviour affected queen Philippa, who interceded in their behalf, and obtained their pardon. The town of Calais being thus surrendered, after a siege of eleven months, Edward expelled all the inhabitants and peopled it from England; and afterwards established in this place a staple for tin, lead, and wool, which redounded greatly to the advantage of his subjects.

Rymer.

We cannot help observing that the inhabitants of Calais had no great reason to extol the generosity of Edward, who seemed to persecute them for the courage and perseverance they exerted in the defence of their country. Such behaviour even in this degenerate age would merit and obtain the favour of their conqueror.

Charles de Blois is defeated and taken prisoner.

While the king of England was employed in this memorable siege, Edward Baliol entered Scotland by the way of Carlisle, at the head of twenty thousand men, and ravaged Galloway, Carrick, and the adjoining provinces, while the lord Piercy, with an equal number of troops, made an irruption through Berwick, and wasted Lothian without opposition. These two armies joining, advanced towards Perth, with a view to over-run the whole kingdom: but the Scottish nobility purchased a truce of Baliol, till the eighth day of September, that they might have an opportunity to treat about the ransom of their king. Edward however would not receive their overtures on this subject, until they should have made satisfaction for the ravages they committed when David invaded England: and they

were

were so exasperated at this refusal, that they recommenced hostilities, and made incursions. The countess of Montfort took the field in Brittany, as soon as the triennial truce concluded for that province was expired, and reduced the fortrefs of Roche de Rien. Charles de Blois immediately assembled an army at Nantes to recover the place, which he invested accordingly; but before he had made great progress in the siege, his quarters were beaten up, his forces routed, and himself taken prisoner, by Tanneguy de Chastel and Garnier de Cadoudal, at the head of the troops belonging to the countess, reinforced by a body of English under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth, whom Edward had detached to her assistance. Charles de Blois, as soon as his wounds were cured, was conveyed to England by this officer, in whose absence Roche de Rien was retaken by the partisans of Charles, who were joined by a strong body of French auxiliaries. But a stop was soon put to all those hostilities by a truce, which was mediated between the two crowns by the pope, to begin on the twenty-eighth day of September, and continue till the eighth of July in the succeeding year, including all the allies of the two kings in Brittany, Flanders, Guienne, and Scotland. It was afterwards renewed by several treaties in the sequel, but it did not prevent Edward from taking proper measures to fortify the town and harbour of Calais, which being properly secured, and the internal police well regulated, he set sail with his queen and prince Edward for England; and after a dangerous passage landed on the twelfth day of October at Sandwich, from whence he proceeded immediately to London.

A. C. 1347
Knighton.

Truce between
France and
England.

Rymer.

The emperor Lewis of Bavaria dying about this period, a dispute ensued among the electors touching the choice of a successor; and the imperial crown was

The German princes
offer the imperial crown
to Edward.

A. C. 1347. was offered to Edward by the archbishop of Mentz, at the head of a powerful faction. But the king declined their offer, as incompatible with his scheme upon France, and likely to engage him not only in a quarrel with the pope, who supported the pretensions of Charles, elected by another party of the German princes, but also in a distant war, the expence of which he was not able to maintain. He had already intailed heavy debts upon himself, by borrowing considerable sums of money and a large quantity of wool from the abbots and religious houses in England: and even these, added to the supplies which had been granted, were found insufficient to defray the charges of his expedition. Nevertheless, it does not appear that he asked a further aid from the parliament, which met at Westminster on the fourteenth day of January, to advise the king touching the continuance of the war, and enacted statutes for encouraging commerce; restraining the evil of adulterated coin; reforming the method of assessment, according to the value of lands, which was not properly ascertained; preventing aliens from holding benefices in England; punishing judges and officers for bribery and corruption; and protecting the subject from the oppression of the nobles, who afforded shelter to robbers within their franchises, and obstructed the administration of justice. Though the king demanded no subsidy in this session, Philip king of France furnished him with a pretence for asking a supply in the next parliament, which assembled on the thirty-first day of March. The French monarch made such preparations by sea and land, as seemed to threaten an invasion of England; and Edward received a very large aid from the counties and boroughs, on condition that the merchants should be called to account for defrauding the king of two thirds of the loan of twenty thousand sacks of wool; that David

Bruce

Bruce and the Scottish prisoners should not be ransomed nor released; that the duty of forty shillings a sack upon wool should cease in three years; that no talliage, impost, or loan should be levied without the assent of the commons in parliament; that the king should repay the wool he had borrowed; that the aid for the marriage of his eldest daughter should be suspended during the exaction of this subsidy, a certain part of which should not be raised in case of a peace or long truce with France. These conditions were entered on record in the roll of parliament, and Edward began to prepare for another expedition, which however was prevented by a prolongation of the truce.

This agreement did not hinder Philip from tampering with Emeric of Pavia, whom the king of England had left governor of Calais. A private contract was carried on with this perfidious Lombard, by Geoffrey de Charny commander of the French forces in the neighbourhood of St. Omer; and he promised, for the consideration of twenty thousand golden crowns, to deliver the town and castle into his hands at midnight, on the thirty-first day of December. Edward being informed of this bargain by Emeric's secretary, sent for that officer to London, and pardoned his treachery, on condition that he would still proceed in his negotiation with Charny, that he might have an opportunity to surprise them in the violation of the truce. The French general having assembled with great privacy a thousand chosen men at arms, with a proportionable body of infantry, began his march, and arriving at the bridge of Nieulaye at the time appointed, sent two messengers to the postern of the castle, where they found the governor, who assured them that every thing was prepared for their reception. Then he transmitted the twenty thousand crowns to Emeric, by the hands of Sir Edward de Renty; and detached

A detachment of French troops disappeared in their design upon Calais.

A. C. 1348. tached twelve knights, with an hundred men at arms, to take possession of the castle. Mean while he himself passed the bridge, with the rest of his forces, and took post before the gate of Boulogne, resolving to enter the town with his banners displayed. Edward had by this time crossed the sea, with eight hundred men at arms, and a thousand archers, under the command of Sir Walter de Manny, and entered the harbour at night so privately, that no body in the town knew of his arrival. He took post immediately in the donjon or great tower that commanded the rest of the citadel; and when the French were admitted at the postern, rushed out unexpectedly, and took them all prisoners: then mounting on horseback, he proceeded to the town, and making a sally at the gate of Boulogne, fell with great fury upon Charny, who nevertheless made a gallant defence, and maintained his ground till after day-break. In this action the king himself was on foot, and fought hand to hand with Eustace de Ribau mont, who, after having twice staggered Edward with the force of his blows, was at length obliged to yield himself his prisoner. Charny, with those who survived, seeing their retreat by the bridge of Nieulaye cut off by another detachment, and the English continually reinforced by fresh parties from the town, surrendered at discretion: and being conducted into Calais were magnificently entertained in the castle-hall by Edward, who then first discovered to them that he himself had been present in the engagement. He declared Ribau mont the bravest knight he had ever encountered, presented him with a rich chaplet of pearls, and set him at liberty without ransom. He then removed Emeric from the government of Calais, which he bestowed upon Sir John Beauchamp, and returned to England, where he amply rewarded those who had signalised themselves upon this occasion.

The plague, which at the latter end of summer, broke out in the West of England, had by this time reached London; and therefore the parliament, which had been summoned to meet in January, was prorogued until that calamity should abate, though it raged two years, during which no session was held, nor any court of justice kept open. In the first six months of this year seven and fifty thousand persons are said to have died of the plague in Norwich and London; and the church-yards being found too small for the burial of the dead, Sir Walter de Manny purchased a piece of ground, belonging to St. Bartholomew's hospital in Smithfield, to serve for the interment of those who were carried off by the pestilence, which no sooner ceased, than he founded on the spot a convent of Carthusians. This dreadful visitation spread into Wales and Ireland, and raged chiefly among the common people, and of these the old men, women, and children. None of the better sort died of the infection, except three or four of the nobility, and Jane the king's second daughter, who was infected at Bourdeaux in her way to Castile, where she was to have been married to the infant Don Pedro, son of Alphonso XI. sovereign of that kingdom. When the contagion among the human species abated, the sheep and cattle perished in vast numbers; and no bird or beast of prey would touch their carcasses, which lay putrifying upon the surface of the ground. The harvest was lost for want of hands to gather it, and hence followed a dreadful dearth of labour and provision. The Scots, tempted by the hope of an easy prey, in such a season of calamity and desolation, invaded the northern counties; and, together with a large booty, carried back the contagion to their own country, where it made terrible havoc*.

A. C. 1349.
A terrible
plague in
England.

Not-

* It was in the course of this year that Edward having adorned his favourite castle of Windsor with new fortifications, and built the chapel which

A. C. 1349.

Jubilee at Rome.

Notwithstanding the dreadful mortality which desolated the best part of Europe, and ought to have served as a judgment to determine the quarrels of princes, the treaties carried on under the pope's mediation produced nothing but truces which were very ill observed. The French beginning to surprize places and raise disturbances in Guienne, the earl of Lancaſter was ſent thither with a body of forces for the protection of the province. Taking the field in the beginning of the year, he reduced a great number of towns and caſtles, burned the ſuburbs of Thoulouſe, and after having waited ſome time for the French, who promiſed to come and give him battle, returned to Bourdeaux without oppoſition. At length he agreed to a truce at the deſire of the pope, who, having proclaimed a jubilee at Rome, complained that the hoſtilities in Guienne obſtructed the paſſage of devotees, who wanted to go and receive abſolution. An infinite number of ſtrangers attended at this ſolemnity from motives of religion, inſpired by the terror of the peſtilence; but the Engliſh were reſtricted from going thither by a ſevere edict of Edward, who apprehended the coin of the kingdom would be exhausted and exported by the vaſt number of pilgrims, who in all probability would have gone abroad on this occa-

A. C. 1350.

which he dedicated to the virgin Mary, St. George, and St. Edward the Confefſor, at length founded a military order in honour of St. George the patron of England. A garter of blue velvet, inſcribed *Honi ſoit, qui mal y penſe*, was the ſymbol of union choſen for this noble fraternity, which from hence was ſtiled the Order of the Garter, conſiſting of the king of England as ſovereign, and five and twenty knights companions. On the feſtival of St. George in this year, they walked bare-headed in proceſſion, clad in gowns of ruſſet and mantles of fine blue woollen cloth, with the reſt of the

habit of the order, to St. George's chapel, where they heard maſs, ſaid by William Edendon, biſhop of Wincheſter, prelate of the order; and after divine ſervice returned to a ſumptuous entertainment. This ſolemnity concluded with military ſports of tilts and tournaments, at which David Bruce, with other priſoners of quality, both Scots and French, were permitted to aſſiſt. And indeed in theſe diverſions the greateſt part of Edward's time was employed, when he had no foreign wars to maintain.

Aſhmole's hiſt. of the Garter.

ſion.

tion. In this season of despondence and superstition, Holland and Flanders produced a set of disciplinarians, who strolled about in procession to all religious houses, preaching, singing, and scourging themselves alternately, until the blood ran in streams from their bodies. Some of these fanatics made a voyage into England, and performed their discipline in the streets of London; but finding themselves ridiculed by the multitude, and neglected by the nation in general, they soon returned to their own country, without having made one profelyte among the English, who were never much inclined to the practice of bodily mortification.

Rymer.
Knyghton.

The king of France, though he would not personally commit an infraction of the truce, spirited up the ports of Biscay to make depredations upon the English vessels; a number of which, trading for wine to Bayonne, they took, plundered, and destroyed. Encouraged by this success, they aspired to designs of greater importance, and equipped a fleet of four and forty great ships of war, with which they proposed to make a descent and even conquest of England. The chief command of this armament was vested in Charles de la Cerda, who, sailing up the channel as far as Sluys in Flanders, destroyed all the English vessels that fell in his way. Edward, being apprised of his design and proceedings, assembled a fleet of fifty sail to intercept him in his return, and embarked in person at Sandwich, with the earls of Lancaster, Northampton, Warwick, Salisbury, Arundel, Huntingdon, and a strong body of chosen archers. The two fleets soon came in sight of each other, and engaged off Winchelsey and Rye on the twenty-ninth day of August. Tho' the Spaniards had a great advantage in the size of their ships, the English bowmen plied them with arrows so effectually that they could not stand upon the decks; and were, after an obstinate dispute,
entirely

Edward obtains a victory over the Spanish fleet equipped in the ports of Biscay.

A. C. 1350. entirely defeated, though the approach of night favoured the escape of all but four and twenty, which before day-light failed were boarded and taken. In order to complete their disaster, the king sent orders to the magistrates of Bayonne to fall upon their trading vessels; and the Spaniards being humbled by the defeat, and harrassed by their neighbours, sued for a truce of twenty years, which Edward granted, for the benefit of commerce. During these transactions, a petty war was still maintained in Brittany between the partisans of Charles de Blois, and those of the countess, whose mutual enmity was habituated into a settled rancour that appeared on every opportunity of gratifying their revenge. In the progress of one of these feuds the lord Dagworth was surprised and slain, and Sir Walter de Bentley sent over in his room to command the English forces in Brittany.

Avesbury.
Walsing.
Rymer.

John succeeds his father Philip on the throne of France.

About this period, Philip de Valois dying at Nogent le Rotrou, was succeeded on the throne of France by his son John duke of Normandy, who seemed to inherit his father's animosity against Edward; and this descended even to objects unworthy of a great king's attention. Thomas de la Marche, an illegitimate son of France, who served in the army of the king of Sicily, being accused by John Visconti of knowing and concealing the conspiracy which Leonard de Assisi had hatched against their monarch, he not only denied the charge, but proposed to maintain his innocence in single combat at the court of Edward, who was universally allowed to be the flower of chivalry. The duel was accordingly fought at Whitehall, in presence of the English court. The combatants having shivered their spears on horseback, alighted and fought on foot with great fury, until closing, Visconti fell to the ground; but he was so cased in armour that his antagonist could not make use of his advantage any other way than

A. C. 1350.

than by driving the rowels of his spurs through the grated work of Visconti's visor. Thus incommoded he called out for quarter, and owned himself vanquished; and Edward dismissed the victor with an honourable testimony of his innocence and bravery.

When he returned to France, he found John incensed at his conduct, in appealing to a prince who was his professed rival, and still more exasperated at the praises which he bestowed upon Edward for his generosity and equitable determination. He pined with envy at the reputation of the English monarch; and this low jealousy prompted him to an action of cruelty and injustice, which left an indelible stain upon his character. Ralph de Brienne constable of France, who was dismissed from England on his parole to raise money for his ransom, joining Thomas in his eulogiums on Edward, John took such umbrage at the panegyric that he resolved to sacrifice him to his envy. Perhaps he really suspected him of that collusion with the king of England which he afterwards charged upon his memory. He ordered the constable to be seized upon the spot, and after having detained him one day prisoner in the Hotel de Nesle, where he himself resided, condemned him to be beheaded, without any form of law, on pretence that he agreed to give the county of Guisnes as his ransom to Edward; and this sentence was executed by night, in presence of the duke of Bourbon, the counts of Armagnac, Montfort, and other noblemen. Not contented with having deprived the constable of his life, he defrauded Edward of his ransom, and united the county of Guisnes to the demesnes of the crown. But he did not long enjoy the acquisition; for, in less than two months the castle was surprised by a party of men at arms and archers from Calais, under the command of John de Lancaster: and Charles de la Cerda, who succeeded Ralf as constable of

His envy
and enmity,
to Edward.

Daniel Hist.
de France.

A. C. 1350. France, was in about two years after this event, assassinated in Normandy, by the order of Charles king of Navarre. Notwithstanding the truce the governors of frontier places made frequent excursions into the neighbourhood of their garrisons, in order to ravage the country; and in one of these Sir John Beauchamp governor of Calais was taken prisoner, with twenty knights, and a considerable detachment; on the other hand, the earl of Lancaster, with Sir Robert Herle and Sir Walter de Manny, at the head of fresh forces brought from England, over-ran the frontiers of Picardy and Artois. A. C. 1351. Guy de Nesle marshal of France was defeated in Guienne, and taken prisoner with his brother William, and many persons of distinction: but this loss did not hinder the French from reducing St. Jean de Angely by famine. Such were the circumstances of the dispute, when hostilities were checked by a renewal of the truce, in a negotiation at Calais; in which it was agreed, that the governors of frontier places should take an oath to see it observed with punctuality.

Froissart:
Rymer.

Wholesome
laws enacted
in parliament.

The plague being by this time quite extinguished, the king, by the advice of his council, published some ordinances to prevent the exorbitant demands of servants and labourers; and at the same time increased the salaries of judges, that they might not be subject to temptation in the exercise of their functions. The lord chief justice Thorne being accused of corruption, threw himself upon the king's mercy, and sentence of death was passed against him, according to law; but his life was spared, and he afterwards obtained a full pardon. A parliament being assembled, confirmed the king's ordinances, by erecting them into statutes; and enacted other laws touching persons born beyond sea, besides the statutes of clothes and of provisors of benefices; but that of purveyors did not pass till
next

next parliament, which met in January at Westminster. Here the king complained that the French had violated the truces in Brittany and Guienne, and sollicitated the Scots to invade England: for which reasons he demanded a supply, to oppose the measures of his enemies; and they granted him a triennial tenth and fifteenth, to be levied under certain restrictions specified in the statute. In this session the commons represented that the judges had in their trials condemned many persons as traitors, for divers causes which the commonalty did not know to be treason; and desiring that the king would, by advice of his council, declare what particular points were to be deemed treason; his majesty specified the articles which constituted that crime, and they were contained in the statute of treasons passed in this assembly, which acquired the epithet of the Blessed Parliament, for this and other salutary acts by which it is distinguished, though there was not one lawyer in either house. The practitioners of the law had already made such proficiency in the arts of their calling, that they were expressly excluded from sitting in the house of commons, in all the writs of summons, which directed the sheriffs to return the most considerable and best qualified knights or esquires in the county, who could not be suspected of knavish tricks, and maintaining false suits and quarrels.

A. C. 1354.

Coke's Inst.

While Edward acted the part of a sage lawgiver for the benefit of his subjects, acts of hostility were daily committed both in Picardy and Bretagne. The French made a fruitless attempt to recover Guisnes; and in Brittany the marshal de Nesle met with a more disastrous fate than that which attended him in the preceding campaign. After the payment of his ransom, he was detached with a body of forces, to assist the partisans of Charles de Blois; and being joined by many noblemen of

The marshal de Nesle is defeated in Brittany, and slain by Sir Walter Bentley.

Avesbury.
Froissart.

A. C. 1352. Bretagne, formed a considerable army, with which he attacked Sir Walter Bentley, in the plains of Mauron, between Rennes and Ploermel. Tho' he out-numbered the English by more than one half, he met with such a warm reception, that his forces were utterly defeated, and himself, with the viscount of Rohan, the lords of Montauban, Quintin, Rugemond, Tyntineac, La Marche, L'Annay, the seneschals of Rouen and Beauvais, fourscore knights, five hundred gentlemen, and some thousands of common soldiers, were left dead upon the field of battle; while William Bertrand baron of Brecquebec being mortally wounded, was taken prisoner, with several noblemen of Bretagne, and about one hundred and sixty knights and gentlemen.

Otho duke of Brunswick challenges Henry duke of Lancaster to single combat.

In this season of inactivity, Henry duke of Lancaster, accompanied by the lord Roos, and other persons of distinction, went abroad to signalize their courage in Prussia against the infidels, who had attacked the knights of the Teutonic order: but in their passage through Germany they were arrested and detained in prison, from whence they were not released, until they had paid three thousand crowns by way of ransom. Their journey was afterwards stopped by the news of a truce concluded between the powers at war; so that they returned by the way of Cologne, where Lancaster declared, that Otho duke of Brunswick had been the contriver of his imprisonment, which he mentioned as a perfidious scheme altogether unworthy of a man of honour. Otho, being apprized of this declaration, sent a challenge to Henry, defying him to single combat, in any place which the king of France should appoint. Lancaster accepted the proposal, and having obtained a safe-conduct, hastened to Paris, whither his antagonist repaired at the same time. Endeavours were used to compromise the quarrel; and these proving ineffectual, the day of combat was appointed,

A. C. 1352.

appointed. When the combatants entered the lists, Otho's courage seemed to fail him: for he turned remarkably pale, mounted his horse reluctantly, dropped his shield three times successively, and appeared so disconcerted, that his friends would not suffer him to engage under such trepidation. They therefore proposed that both parties should desist: but Lancaster would agree to no other terms, except the alternative of Brunswick's either fighting, or acknowledging himself to be vanquished. At length Otho submitted to the king of France's determination, and renounced his challenge: king John effected a reconciliation between them at a magnificent entertainment; and Henry returned in triumph to his own country.

Knyghton.
Du Tillet.

A. C. 1353.
The treaty
between
France and
England
proves abortive.

The king of England had signified to the pope, that he was willing to make peace with John, and resign his title to the crown of France, on condition that the dutchy of Guienne and county of Ponthieu should be restored to him as independent sovereignties; and that the French king should make a cession to him of the lands he had conquered about Calais; and the superiority of Flanders. The archbishop of Canterbury, with the duke of Lancaster, and some other noblemen, had been sent as ambassadors to Guines, to treat with the French deputies, in presence of the pope's legate: but as neither prince would yield any circumstance in favour of the other, little fruit was expected from this negotiation; and both sides prepared for war, which now seemed unavoidable; and which was the less unacceptable to John, as he had lately gained over the Flemings to his interest. Edward summoning a great council at Westminster, several wholesome ordinances were drawn up for the regulation of a staple which he meant to fix in England, Wales, and Ireland. Then he redressed the grievances of the nation, touching appeals from

A. C. 1353. the king's court to any judicature, and pardons granted to robbers; and laying before them the state of the treaty, they continued the subsidy on wool and skins for three years longer. These ordinances were confirmed in the subsequent parliament, which met in April, together with some others respecting the qualifications of justices of the peace; and as the king entertained at this period some hope of an accommodation with France, a public instrument was drawn up, by which the parliament unanimously obliged themselves to approve the terms upon which his majesty should think proper to conclude the treaty of peace. But all hope of a pacification soon vanished, when the French plenipotentiaries declared, that there was not a gentleman in France who would not rather lose his life, than consent to a separation of Guienne from the crown of that kingdom. The pope, with all his remonstrances, could not prevail upon either party to relax in the least particular; and a prolongation of the truce till next Midsummer was the whole result of his intercession.

Rainald.
Du Tillet.

Rupture between the kings of France and Navarre.

Had John consulted his interest only, he would have looked upon this as a very unseasonable juncture for engaging in a war that might encourage and support Charles king of Navarre, in his endeavours to embroil the kingdom of France. That prince was nearly related to the French king, and had been educated at the court of his father Philip, where he soon displayed very extraordinary talents, and acquired great popularity by his insinuating behaviour and exquisite address. King John had endeavoured to attach him firmly to his interest, by giving him his daughter Jane in marriage; but he was of a character which no obligations could bind or influence. He trumped up a claim to the counties of Champagne and Brie, as well as to the dutchy of Burgundy, in right of his mother;

mother; but as this claim was not allowed, he complained that the county of Engoulesme, which he enjoyed by a grant of Charles the Fair, was of no advantage to him, as being continually wasted by the English; and he received in lieu of it the towns of Mante and Meulant, which being added to the counties of Evreux and Mortagne, which he already possessed in Normandy, rendered him very powerful in that province. Engoulesme was bestowed upon John's favourite, Charles de la Cerda constable of France, whom the king of Navarre considered as his most inveterate enemy; he therefore hired ruffians to assassinate that nobleman, and even published a manifesto to justify this scandalous act of barbarity. At the same time he treated with the duke of Lancaster for assistance from England, and began to put himself in a posture of defence against the resentment of king John, who he did not doubt would endeavour to revenge the death of his minion. How mortified soever the French king must have been at this outrage committed against his person, honour, and authority, his affairs were in such an unfavourable situation, that he was obliged to smother his indignation, and even comply with all the proposals of the king of Navarre, who demanded a grant of several counties, viscounties, bailliages, privileges, and exemptions, together with a full pardon for himself and all those who were concerned in the murder of the constable. In return for these concessions, he offered to ask pardon of John before the parliament of Paris; though he would not even consent to make this satisfaction, until the king's second son, the count of Anjou, was delivered up as an hostage for the security of his person; then the ceremony was performed, and an ample pardon passed in form for the king of Navarre and all his adherents.

Hist. D'Evreux.

A. C. 1354.
John pur-
chases an
accommoda-
tion.

Notwithstanding this seeming reconciliation, they suspected the sincerity of each other; and Charles still resolved to guard against the consequence of John's hatred, by engaging in a firm alliance with England. The duke of Lancaster being then at Avignon treating with the French deputies, Charles took that city in his road to Navarre, and had several private conferences with the English ambassador, concerning the measures to be taken in concert with Edward, when the truce should expire at

A. C. 1355.

Midsummer. John suspecting his design, took this opportunity of his absence, to seize his towns and fortresses in Normandy, all which surrendered without resistance, except Evreux, Gavre, Mortagne, Pontaudemer, Cherbourg, and Avranches, which, being well supplied with strong garrisons, refused the king of France admittance. Charles, being informed of these hostilities, sent an agent to the French court to justify his conduct, and demand a safe guard, by virtue of which he might go thither in person. John readily granted this request; but at the same time sent his son Charles the dauphin into Normandy with a body of troops, to prevent all disturbances in that province. The king of Navarre did not think proper to make use of his safe conduct, but landed in August with two thousand men at Cherbourg; and the garrison of Evreux, animated by the tidings of his arrival, took the castle of Conches by surprize. The duke of Athenes and Geoffrey de Charny threw themselves into Caen, which seemed to be exposed to the greatest danger; and a strong body of troops was sent thither under the command of the constable of Bourbon, who nevertheless was enjoined to abstain from hostilities, and if possible effect an accommodation. Such was now the posture of John's affairs, that he thought he could not purchase it at too dear a rate. The truce between the

two crowns was by this time expired; and Edward had been so often deluded with vain hopes, that he seemed averse to its being renewed. The duke of Lancaster was actually at sea with forty stout ships, having on board a good number of troops destined for Cherbourg, which, however, he was prevented from reaching by contrary winds. The prince of Wales commanded a strong body of forces on the western coast of England, and a fleet lay ready at Plymouth to transport them to the continent: so that John could not make too much dispatch in accommodating matters with the king of Navarre, who was determined to join the English in Normandy. He therefore offered one hundred thousand crowns in lieu of all the demands of Charles, who was glad to make peace upon such advantageous terms. The articles of agreement were settled in September, by the constable in a conference at Valognes; then Charles visited the dauphin at Vaudreuil, from whence they proceeded together to Paris, where John received him with all the exterior marks of the most cordial friendship.

Avesbury.
Froissart.
Rymer.

The duke of Lancaster, apprised of this reconciliation, and understanding the coast of Normandy was guarded by a numerous body of forces, laid aside his design of a descent, and was afterwards appointed lieutenant for the king in Brittany: but the prince of Wales, having embarked his forces on board of a fleet of three hundred ships, set sail in September from Plymouth, accompanied by the earls of Warwick, Oxford, Salisbury, Suffolk, and other persons of distinction; and landing at Bourdeaux, was joined by the most considerable of the Gascon nobility. Finding himself, in consequence of this junction, at the head of an army consisting of threescore thousand men, he began his march, on the fifth day of October, towards Armagnac, which together with Astarac, Cominges,

Surprising
progress of
the prince of
Wales in
Gaïenne.

A. C. 1355. La Riviere, and L'Isle en Jourdain, he ravaged with fire and sword, plundering the inhabitants, dismantling their fortresses, and laying the towns and villages in ashes. Then he advanced to Tholouse, where the French army, exceeding his own in number, was encamped, under the command of the counts of Armagnac and Foix, the prince of Orange, the constable of Bourbon, and the marshal de Clermont. After having essayed in vain to provoke them to a battle, he passed the Garonne above the city, and burned all the fine towns in the neighbourhood. From thence he advanced to Avignonet, which, together with several other important places, he took and destroyed; and in a word, intirely ruined one of the most rich and fertile countries in France. The inhabitants of Montpellier burned their suburbs, in expectation of being besieged; and the pope, who resided at Avignon, sent ambassadors to the prince of Wales, with proposals for setting on foot another treaty: but he would not even admit them to an audience; though he referred them to his father, who was at that time in the neighbourhood of Calais. Innocent, affronted and alarmed at the little respect shewn to his deputies, began to fortify his palace, and detached his marshal with five hundred men at arms, furnished by the cardinals and gentry of the country around, to observe the motions of the English. This officer, advancing too near the prince's army, was defeated and taken, and obliged to pay fifty thousand crowns for his ransom. Young Edward had already, in the space of eight weeks, destroyed five hundred villages and many fortified towns; and would have continued this work of desolation, had not he received intelligence that the French army had quitted Tholouse, in order to come and give him battle. He forthwith marched back to meet them; but as he approached they retired towards Tholouse, through

though he did not know the route they had taken. A. C. 1355. He passed the river at Carbonne, where he understood they were within two leagues of his army; and a detachment of his troops beating up part of their quarters, they retreated with precipitation to Lombez and Sauveterre, posting themselves behind the Sauve, as if they intended to dispute the passage of that river. Edward following them thither, found all the bridges broken down; and while he was employed in repairing them, the French retired to Gimont, though not so expeditiously but that the van of the English intercepted part of their rear, which was cut in pieces. He arrived with his whole army in the neighbourhood of the place in the evening, and next day drew up his forces in order of battle; but the enemy had marched off in the night, leaving a strong garrison in the town, which was well provided for making an obstinate defence. The season of the year being by this time too far advanced to admit of his undertaking the siege with any prospect of success, he returned to Bourdeaux, and distributed his forces into winter-quarters, under commanders of approved valour, who, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, soon reduced Tonnins, Clerac, Port St. Marie, with many other places, and subdued the greatest part of the Agenois.

Froissart.
Avesbury.

While the prince of Wales proceeded with this rapidity of conquest, his father receiving intimation that the French king had advanced with a great army to the marches of Calais, resolved to cross the sea, and give him battle without delay. In this expedition he was attended by his sons Lionel and John of Ghent, Henry duke of Lancaster, the earls of Northampton, Marche, and Stafford, the lords Piercy, Manny, and Graystock, the bishop of Durham, and a great number of barons from the North; the border being secured by a truce granted

King Edward offers battle to John, at St. Omer.

to

A. C. 1355. to the Scots, at their own request. When Edward landed at Calais, he was joined by one thousand men at arms, under some German, Brabantine, and Flemish knights, whom he had retained in his service; and this reinforcement, added to the troops he carried over from England, constituted a considerable army, at the head of which he marched, on the second day of November towards St. Omer, where the French king lay encamped with his forces. That prince sending a knight, who had formerly been a prisoner in England, with a frivolous message to the king, that he might have an opportunity to observe the English army, Edward allowed him to take a full view of the troops, and the disposition he had made; and the knight made such a report of them to his master, that John thought proper to retire from St. Omer, after having destroyed all the provisions in the adjacent country. Edward followed him as far as Hesdin, but was obliged to return to Calais for want of subsistence; and next day some French knights came to propose a pitched battle on the Tuesday following. The king accepted the proposal, on condition that these knights would engage to bring their master to the field at the appointed time; or, in default of his coming, yield themselves prisoners of war. The English nobility offered to be bound for the appearance of Edward in the same penalty; but the French declined the expedient: so that the king, after having waited all day on Tuesday in expectation of their coming, dismissed his foreign troops, and returned to England.

Froissart.
Mezerai.

His expedition into
Scotland.

His return was hastened by the conduct of the Scots, who, disregarding the truce, had taken the town of Berwick by surprize, in the absence of the northern nobility, and were employed in preparations for invading England. In a parliament convened at Westminster, on the twenty-third day of November,

November, the lord Manny explained the transaction of the treaty of Calais; the proposal of a league with the king of Navarre; the particulars of the king's last expedition; and his design to recover Berwick, and carry the war into the heart of Scotland. For these purposes the commons granted a greater subsidy on wool, wool-fells, and leather, than any parliament had ever granted before. It was to be continued for six years, and amounted to one million five hundred thousand pounds annually. Some regulations being made with respect to juries, and other grievances of the nation redressed, Edward began to prepare for his northern expedition, and appointed the rendezvous of his forces at Newcastle. He himself set out immediately for the same place; and the Scots being apprized of his approach, abandoned Berwick, which was not tenable while the English possessed the castle. The king, advancing as far as Haddington, burned the towns and villages, but saw not the face of an enemy; for the Scottish forces had retired to their woods and mountains, after having removed all their provisions and effects from the Lowlands, that the English might not find the least subsistence. This was a very prudent precaution; for Edward's fleet being dispersed in a storm, he found himself destitute of provisions, and was obliged to return immediately to Roxburgh. In that place Edward Baliol, now grown old and overwhelmed with infirmities, resigned his title to the crown of Scotland in favour of the English monarch, who, in consideration of this cession, granted him a pension of two thousand pounds a year for life, payed all his debts, and presented him with a gratuity of five thousand marks, as a recompence for his faithful services. After this transaction, the king returned to London in February, where he received a considerable aid from the prelates and the clergy; and

A. C. 1355.

Avesbury

A. C. 1356.

about

A. C. 1356.

Rymer.

Charles
king of Na-
varre is im-
prisoned by
the king of
France.

about this period, the earl of Northampton concluded a truce with the Scots till Michaelmas.

Mean while preparations were carrying on in France for the maintenance of a vigorous war. About the latter end of November, John called an assembly of the states at Paris; and, for the first time the towns were ordered to send deputies to this convention. Here the members, appearing extremely zealous for the glory of their king, undertook to maintain thirty thousand men at arms for one year, and consented to a gabelle upon salt, a duty on all kinds of provision, and a capitation-tax upon all persons in the kingdom without distinction. These impositions produced an insurrection at Arras, and furnished the king of Navarre with an handle to diffuse the spirit of disaffection through the whole province of Normandy. He had already debauched the dauphin from his duty, and persuaded him to quit his father's court in resentment, because he had as yet received no independent provision: but John, by wise remonstrances, and gratifying his son with the dukedom of Normandy, prevailed upon him to abandon this seducer of his youth, and even to assist in a design he had formed to seize the king of Navarre, and all the lords of his party. The dauphin still pretending the warmest affection for Charles and his partisans, with whom he had been so lately engaged, invited them to an entertainment at Rouen; and, while they sat at table in the castle, John, who had privately arrived with a small number of troops, suddenly entered the hall, and ordered all the guests to be apprehended. The count of Harcourt, with the lord of Gravelle, and two gentlemen, were immediately beheaded; and the king of Navarre was sent to the Chatelet in Paris, from whence he was afterwards removed to Arleux in Artois, where he remained in close confinement. His brother Philip d'Evreux count of Longueville,
incensed

incensed at his imprisonment; and Godfrey de Harcourt, exasperated at the execution of his nephew, vowed revenge against the tyrant, fortified all the places in their power, and sent to England for succours. King Edward understanding that Charles had suffered on account of a pretended league with England, sent a manifesto to several courts, vindicating him from that aspersion; and detached Miles lord Stapleton, with a body of troops, to assist in the defence of his possessions in Normandy, where the French forces had already reduced Evreux, and invested Pontaudemer. But these being too inconsiderable to withstand the power of France, Henry duke of Lancaster was sent thither with another reinforcement; and landing at La Hogue, was joined by the count of Longueville and Godfrey de Harcourt, who had by this time done homage at the court of England to Edward, as the lawful king of France. Lancaster being at the same time reinforced by Sir Robert Knolles, with some troops from Brittany, found himself at the head of nine hundred men at arms, and fourteen hundred archers, besides a strong body of infantry. With these he raised the siege of Pontaudemer, as well as that of Breteuil, and reduced Vernueil; then marching in sight of the French army, amounting to forty thousand men, commanded by the duke of Orleans, he encamped near L'Aigle, and returned in July to Montebourg. The affairs of Brittany requiring Lancaster's presence in that province, the command of the forces in Normandy devolved to the count of Longueville and Godfrey de Harcourt, who exerted themselves vigorously in the prosecution of the war; but, being greatly inferior to the enemy in number, they could not prevent Tillieres and Breteuil from being taken by Robert de Clermont, marechal to the duke of Normandy. After the reduction of these places, he fell into the

A. C. 1356. Cotentin ; on the tenth day of November he surprized Godfrey de Harcourt, who was cut in pieces, together with his whole detachment of seven hundred men, near Coutances : and, as he died without issue, the honour of St. Sauveur le Vicomte reverted to the king of England, who afterwards bestowed it upon John lord Chandos. This disaster was followed by the reduction of Pont de l'Arche ; which, after a brave defence for four months, was surrendered on the fourth day of December : but these losses were in some measure repaired by the reduction of the castle of Evreux, which was surprized by William de Graille, son of John, who had been beheaded at Rouen.

Rymer.
Avesbury.
Froissart.

The prince
of Wales
begins his
march from
Bordeaux.

During these transactions, Edward prince of Wales having reduced the greatest part of the Agenois in the winter, and sufficiently refreshed his soldiers after the fatigues of such a severe campaign, began his march from Bourdeaux, on the sixth day of July, at the head of two thousand men at arms, six thousand archers, and four thousand infantry. Passing thro' the Agenois, he ravaged Quercy, the Limousin and Auvergne ; fell into Berry, attempted Issodun and Bourges without success, and took Vierzou by assault. Here he first understood that the French king lay encamped at Chartres, with a prodigious army collected from all parts of his kingdom. Suspecting that Edward intended to pass the Loire, and John the duke of Lancaster in Normandy, he had disposed his troops in such a manner as to guard all the towns and passages on that river ; and the prince of Wales being informed of this disposition, resolved to turn off on the left to Romarantin, ravage Poitou, and return through Saintonge to Bourdeaux. Three hundred lances, under the command of the lords of Craon and Boucicaut, in attempting to cut off his advanced guard, were defeated, and fled to the castle of Romarantin,

where in a few days, they were obliged to surrender at discretion. The prince in his route had taken above six thousand men at arms, who were sent prisoners to Bourdeaux, and laid waste a prodigious tract of country. Marching thro' part of Touraine and Anjou, south of the Loire, he now entered Poitou; and, on Saturday the seventeenth day of September, encamped between Beauvoir and Maupertuis, within two leagues of Poitiers. The king of France coming up with an army of sixty thousand horse, besides infantry, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to attack the English next morning. Edward was already so straitened for want of provisions, that, in a few days, he must have been starved into a surrender; but the French, confiding in their valour, and the vast superiority of their numbers, demanded a battle so eagerly, that John did not think proper to disappoint their ardour and ambition. He divided his army into three bodies; of which the first and most advanced was commanded by his brother the duke of Orleans; the second was posted on the left, under the conduct of the dauphin, assisted by his brothers Lewis and John; while the king in person, accompanied by his youngest son Philip, commanded the third division as a body of reserve. This order being settled, John detached the lords of Ribeaumont, Landas, and Beaujeu, to view the countenance and disposition of the enemy, whom they found posted among bushes, hedges, and vineyards, so as to be inaccessible in every quarter, but by a narrow lane lined with hedges, behind which a body of English archers was planted to command the passage. Ribeaumont advised the king to dismount all his cavalry, except three hundred chosen men in complete armour, who should enter the defile, and make way for the attack of the dismounted cavaliers. In consequence of this advice, the three hundred men were armed for this service, and all the rest of the troops ordered to

A. C. 1356.

charge on foot, except a few German squadrons, which continued on horseback, to be occasionally employed according to the emergencies of the action. Just when John was going to begin the battle, the cardinal of Perigort, employed by the pope to renew the negotiations between the two crowns, running up to the king, conjured him to spare the lives of so many French gentlemen, which would necessarily be lost in the attack, and allow him to repair to the English camp, where he did not doubt of being able to persuade the prince of Wales to surrender. Having obtained this permission, he hastened to Edward, who being very sensible of his dangerous situation, declared himself ready to accept of any terms that should be consistent with his own honour and that of his country. When the cardinal returned with this answer, John sent back his troops to their quarters; and the mediator spent the whole day in passing between the two camps, to settle the articles of accommodation. The prince of Wales offered to restore all the places and prisoners he had taken in that campaign; and abstain, for seven years, from carrying arms against the king of France, on condition of being allowed to retire unmolested to Bourdeaux. But John peremptorily insisted upon Edward's surrendering himself prisoner, with an hundred knights; and in that case the English army should be permitted to retire without molestation. The prince, far from subscribing to this article, told the cardinal, that he and his knights should never be taken but in battle; and that he would rather lose his life than agree to such a proposal. Thus the negotiation was broke off, and both sides prepared for an engagement; though Edward derived some advantage from this small respite, during which he had rendered his camp more defensible by means of ditches and palisadoes. On Monday morning the French army appeared in the order of battle we have already described;

scribed; and Edward drew up his handful of troops in three divisions, ranged in a close compacted form, with hedges and ditches in his front, while his flanks were defended on one side by a mountain, and on the other by a morass. On the declivity of the hill the van was posted, under the command of the earl of Warwick; the rear was conducted by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk: and the prince of Wales took his station at the end of the lane, to command the main body, which extended itself into a vineyard. John de Greilly, Captal de Buche, was detached with three hundred men at arms and as many archers, to form an ambush under cover of the trees, bushes, and broken ground at the foot of the mountain, that he might fall on the enemy's back in the heat of the action: and the open part of the ground, on which the English stood, was enclosed by the waggons of the army. About nine of the clock in the morning, the chosen body of men at arms entered the lane with great resolution; but they were so galled by the English archers that lined the hedges through which they passed, that one half of them fell before they reached the front of Edward's main body, where they were cut in pieces by the lord Audeley. The marechals Clermont and Andrehan, advancing close behind those men at arms, were greatly embarrassed by the horses and bodies that were slain, which choaked up the passage, while the archers plied them without intermission. When they penetrated to the van of the English, they met with a very warm reception from the earl of Warwick; and Salisbury and Suffolk, advancing from the rear, completed their confusion. Clermont was killed upon the spot, and Andrehan felled to the ground by the lord Audeley, who took him prisoner. The fate of these noblemen, and the slaughter that ensued, disconcerted their followers so much, that they fell into disorder, and fled with great precipitation. The first body of the French

A. C. 1356,

The battle of Poitiers, in which John king of France is totally defeated and taken prisoner.

A. C. 1356. being thus routed, the dauphin advanced to the charge, though his men were already dispirited; but they had no sooner begun the attack, than John de Greilly rushing from his ambush, fell upon their rear with such fury, that they were immediately seized with consternation, and betook themselves to flight. Those noblemen who were particularly entrusted with the care of the dauphin's person, conveyed him from the field to Chavigny, under a guard of eight hundred lances; and the duke of Orleans, with the greatest part of his command, which had not yet engaged, thought proper to follow the same route. The prince of Wales seeing those two bodies broken and routed, immediately mounted his horse, and advanced at the head of his men at arms, to attack the third division, commanded by John himself, who waited for him without flinching. Notwithstanding the impetuosity with which Edward began the charge, the battle was a long time maintained with equal valour on both sides, and dubious success, till Gauchet de Brienne, duke of Athenes, and constable of France, was slain; then his brigade gave way, and victory declared in favour of the English. The prince of Wales falling in among the German cavalry, routed them at the first onset, in which the count of Sarbruck was slain, and the count of Nassau taken prisoner. John king of France, attended by his son Philip, endeavoured to rally his troops, and animate them by his own example. He fought on foot with uncommon valour, until he was deserted by all his followers; and Dennis de Morhec, a knight of Artois, who had formerly been in his service, exhorting him to surrender without further opposition, he desired to see his cousin the prince of Wales: but as Edward chanced to be in another part of the field, he threw his gauntlet to Morhec, in signal of surrender. Mean while a party of English, and another of Gascons, coming up, deprived

prived him of his royal prisoner, about whom a dispute ensued, which might have been attended with fatal consequences to John and his son Philip, who shared his fate, had not the earl of Warwick and Reginald lord Cobham interposed, and conducted him to prince Edward, who had retired to his pavilion, where he reposed himself after the fatigue of the battle. Upon this occasion, the Black Prince exhibited all the heroism of virtue: he received the king of France with the utmost tenderness and respect; he comforted him under his disaster, by observing that success very often depends upon accident; that he had performed the part of a consummate general and undaunted hero; and that he had fallen into the hands of those who knew how to revere his virtues and misfortune. He expressed the most profound esteem, and even a warm affection, for the royal family of France, to which he had the honour of being related; and he promised to exert all his influence with his father to promote an honourable peace, which should be for the advantage of both nations. He even waited upon him at supper, and could not be prevailed upon to sit down, notwithstanding the intreaties of John, who bore his fate with unshaken fortitude; and expressed his satisfaction, that since he was doomed to captivity, he had the good fortune to be the prisoner of the most gallant prince in the universe. The French noblemen, who had been taken in the battle, were struck with astonishment and reverential awe at this instance of generosity and moderation. They looked upon him as a being of some superior species; and while they manifested their veneration for his great qualities, could not help lamenting the fate of their country, which was exposed to the resentment of an enemy endowed with such extraordinary talents. The lord Audeley having signalized his personal prowess above all the noblemen in the field, the prince desired to see him; and he was brought dangerously wounded to his tent,

A. C. 1356.

Froissart.
Mezerai.
Barnes.
Stowe.

where Edward highly extolled his valour, retained him as his knight, with a grant of five hundred marks a year out of his own inheritance; which bounty, he forthwith distributed among his four esquires, who had fought by his side in the battle. Edward being informed of this particular, applauded his generosity, confirmed the donation, and settled upon Audeley six hundred marks a year out of the coinage of the stannaries of Cornwall. This great victory was gained without the loss of one person of distinction; whereas the French lost the flower of their nobility, who, rather than desert their sovereign, chose to die in his defence. Among those were the count of Dammartin, the lords of Rochefoucault, Mathas, La Tour, Montaign, Landas, Charny, and Ribau-mont: Guclard d'Angle was left for dead among the slain, but recovering of his wounds, he entered into the English service, was admitted a knight of the garter, and created earl of Huntingdon. Two dukes, nineteen counts, five thousand men at arms, and about eight thousand infantry, are said to have been killed on the French side in this battle. Two thousand men at arms were taken prisoners; and among these the counts of Ponthieu, Eu, and Tancarville, princes of the blood; the archbishop of Sens, the counts of Estampes and Vaudemont, the lords of Parthenay, Rochechouart, Chaulny, and many other noblemen. The gates of Poitiers being shut upon the fugitives, lest their pursuers should enter the town with them pell-mell, such a multitude of prisoners were taken, that the victors dismissed great numbers on parole, at very easy ransoms, which were punctually payed. Every soldier of Edward's army was enriched with the spoils of the enemy and the ransom of the prisoners, which belonged to the captors, when it did not exceed ten thousand crowns; in which case it was the king's property. Next day prince Edward decamped, and, without undertaking the siege of Poitiers,

Poitiers, retired with his prisoners and booty through Saintonge to Bourdeaux; while the dauphin hastening to Paris, assembled the three estates, to concert measures for the defence of the kingdom, and contribute their assistance towards the ransom of their sovereign. Before the states would grant a supply, they took the advantage of their king's distress, to humble the power of the crown: they insisted upon the immediate removal of seven principal officers of state, as well as upon the release of the king of Navarre; they appointed a committee, consisting of twelve prelates, twelve noblemen, and the like number of burgeses, without whose advice the dauphin, who acted as lieutenant of the realm, should take no step in the administration; and they demanded that all the grievances of the nation should be redressed. John being made acquainted with these transactions, desired the dauphin would by no means agree to such insolent demands; for he would rather continue prisoner to an honourable enemy, than return home as a slave to his own subjects. As the estates would not relax in their propositions, they were dissolved by the dauphin, who had recourse to the city of Paris for an aid to maintain the war: but the inhabitants, instead of complying with his request, gave him to understand, that they were not obliged to pay any subsidy that was not imposed by the three estates, which they exhorted him to reassemble. Such answers he received from all the provinces but Champagne and Languedoc, which he found more tractable.

Pope Innocent VI. had, upon hearing of John's being carried to Bourdeaux, sent thither the cardinals of Perigort and St. Vital to mediate a peace; and though they did not succeed in that part of their negotiation, they obtained Edward's consent to a truce for two years by sea and land. The duke of Lancaster, who had invested Rennes, was by an article of this agreement to raise the siege; but he

Edward prince of Wales makes his public entry into London with his royal prisoner.

A. C. 1357. refused to conform to this article, until the truce should be ratified by the king of England; and in the mean time carried on his operations with such redoubled vigour, that the inhabitants were glad to pay an hundred thousand crowns to indemnify him for the expence of the siege, and oblige themselves to receive a governor of his own chusing. After the ratification of this truce, prince Edward bought up all the prisoners of distinction from the captors; and setting sail from Guienne on the twenty-fourth day of April, with the king of France and the other prisoners, attended by a large train of English and Gascon noblemen, two hundred men at arms, and two thousand archers, landed on the fifth day of May at Sandwich. When the tidings of the victory at Poitiers first arrived in England, the king, instead of encouraging revellings and demonstrations of joy, desired that the archbishop of Canterbury would appoint a whole week to be spent in prayer and thanksgiving, that he and the nation might not be too much intoxicated by their success. Notwithstanding this instance of his moderation and self-denial, he now directed the lord-mayor to prepare pageants, processions, and triumphal arches, to honour the public entrance of his victorious son, who was met in Southwark by the mayor and aldermen in their formalities, with one thousand citizens on horseback. The royal prisoner rode through the streets of London in a magnificent habit, mounted on a fine white courser, and attended by the prince of Wales, on a little black horse with ordinary trappings. The inhabitants vied with each other in displaying plate, tapestry, furniture, and arms offensive and defensive, in their shops, windows, and balconies. The streets were lined with an infinite concourse of people; and the cavalcade lasted from three in the morning till noon, when they reached Westminster-hall, where the king of England sat upon a royal throne, in expectation

Rymer.
Knyghton.

pectation of their coming. He rose up when John approached, and received him with all that courteous civility which might have been expected from a prince of his character. Then he embraced his son with great tenderness, and told him, that the victory did not please him so much as the modesty with which he had bore his good fortune. As for the captive king, he was entertained in the most sumptuous manner, and provided with an apartment in the king's palace, until the Savoy could be fitted up for his reception.

Immediately after John's public entrance, which must have been a very disagreeable ceremony to a vanquished king, the two cardinals arrived in England with some proposals of peace, which Edward found so unreasonable, that he would not even appoint commissioners to treat upon the subject. Finding him averse to that negotiation, they demanded the arrears of the tribute which had been formerly payed to Rome; but the king rejected this demand as an obsolete chimera, and plainly told them, as he held his crown of God alone, he would never pay tribute to any mortal whatsoever. Notwithstanding this denial they took care of themselves, by raising procurations upon the clergy; and that they might not seem to have come over to no purpose, they laboured to bring the treaty to perfection, which had been long upon the carpet, for the ransom of David Bruce king of Scotland. At length it was ratified; and David, as acknowledged king of Scotland, and an independent monarch, set at liberty upon his giving hostages for the payment of one hundred thousand marks sterling, to be advanced in ten years at equal portions; and until the whole should be liquidated, it was agreed that a truce should subsist and be inviolably observed by both nations. David, after a long captivity, returning to Scotland, disinherited his nephew Robert Stuart, who had deserted him at the battle of

David king
of Scotland
is set at li-
berty.

Rymer.
Knyghton,

Durham,

A. C. 1357. Durham, and settled the succession of his crown upon Alexander, son of the earl of Sutherland, who had married his younger sister. But this young nobleman dying in a few years, and David's resentment cooling, he considered Robert's character in a different light: he found his conduct had been always just, steady, and unblemished; that he had signalized his valour and sagacity on many occasions, in the defence and administration of the kingdom; and that his behaviour at the battle of Durham was irreproachable; for his men had absolutely refused to return to the king's relief: on these considerations he took him into favour again; and his succession to the throne was established by act of parliament.

Buchanan.

The king of Navarre raises disturbances in France.

Nothing could be more seasonable to the dauphin of France, than the truce concluded at Bourdeaux. His authority was not yet settled. The Navarrais had surpris'd Honfleur; a body of French troops attempting to recover it, had been routed by Sir Robert Knolles; and Stephen Marcel, prevot de Marchands in Paris, at the head of a mutinous populace, demanded that the king of Navarre should be set at liberty, and the three estates re-assembled. The dauphin, being averse to a compliance with either of these demands, summoned deputies from seventy towns; but these pretending they had no power to raise subsidies, he was obliged to assemble the estates. About this time the king of Navarre escaping from the castle of Arleux, by the assistance of John de Pequigny, governor of Artois, made a public entry into Paris, where he was received by the prevot with his officers, and above ten thousand inhabitants in arms. He harangued the populace from a scaffold, on the cruelty and injustice of his imprisonment; and became so formidable by his popularity, that the dauphin was glad to comply with all his demands. He gratified him with a sum of money, as a reparation of

of the injuries he had sustained; he granted an amnesty to him and all his partisans; he promised to restore their forfeited estates; and issued orders for the restitution of all the places that belonged to him in Normandy. The governors, however, looking upon these orders as extorted by violence, refused to deliver up their charge; and the king of Navarre, complaining of this refusal as a breach of stipulation, retired to Normandy, where he began to levy troops, and foment disturbances against the government. The Parisians perceiving that the dauphin had levied troops in the provinces, made barricadoes in their streets, and fortified all the avenues of their city, which was divided into different factions. The prevot, at the head of the Navarrois, who distinguished themselves by party-coloured hats, exclaimed against the ministry, and loudly demanded the restitution of the places, according to the agreement made with the king of Navarre. They even carried their outrages so far as to assassinate Robert de Clermont, and John de Conflans, marechals of France and Burgundy, in the king's presence. The estates being assembled at Paris, instead of taking measures to repress these violences, demanded that the management of the finances should be put into the hands of the committee appointed in the last assembly; and that they should have the nomination of the persons that were to compose the council of state. The king of Navarre going to Paris, began to insinuate in his harangues, his pretended right to the crown of France in right of his mother, who was daughter of Lewis Hutin; and at last formed a design to surprize the dauphin. This prince, who had hitherto acted only as the king's lieutenant, was now declared regent of the kingdom by the parliament; and repairing to Compeigne, convoked an assembly of the states, who complied with all his demands, and granted subsidies for levying troops with

A. C. 1357. with all expedition. By this time, the nobleſſe of the provinces were exaſperated againſt the Pariſians, for the murder of the two mareſchals; and willingly contributed towards the vengeance of the dauphin, who, having aſſembled a body of forces, formed the blockade of Paris, while the king of Navarre encamped at St. Denis with his own troops and a reinforcement of Engliſh, who plundered

A. C. 1358. both parties alike. The licentiousneſs of theſe auxiliaries provoked the Pariſians to ſuch a degree, that a great number of thoſe who had been formerly attached to Charles of Navarre now declared for the dauphin; the prevot, in order to prevent a general defection, concerted a ſcheme with the Navarrois, to maſſacre all who adhered to the regent, and proclaim Charles of Navarre king of France. Marks were ſet upon the houſes of thoſe doomed to deſtruction. The firſt day of Auguſt was appointed for the execution of this execrable deſign; and the troops of Navarre approached the gates of St. Honoré and St. Antoine in the night. A little before day-break, the prevot going to the Port de St. Antoine, and finding ſome burgeſſes on guard, who were not privy to the deſign, he ordered them to deliver up the keys and return to their own homes, as their ſtay was no longer neceſſary. Some of theſe ſuſpecting miſchief, ſignified their doubts to John Maillard, who commanded in the next diſtrict; and he advancing with a party, oppoſed the orders of the prevot. A diſpute aroſe, and ſome bitter altercation enſuing, John ſlew the demagogue, with a number of his followers: then ſecuring his partiſans, whom the prevot had poſted at the two gates, he aſſembled the people, and made them acquainted with the particulars of the conſpiracy, which by this time he had learned from the confeſſion of thoſe whom he had arreſted. The populace were ſo exaſperated at this information, that they treated the dead body of the prevot with

the utmost indignity, inveighed against the king of Navarre, and called aloud for the regent's return. Two counsellors were accordingly deputed to invite him to the city, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the people. The king of Navarre, seeing all his measures defeated, sent an open defiance to the dauphin and the Parisians; and he maintained a bloody war with his own forces and a body of Gascons, whom his kinsman, the captain de Buche, had brought to his assistance.

Froissart.
Mezerai.

Treaty between Edward and John rejected by the estates in France.
A. C. 1359.

The truce between France and England was prolonged from April to Midsummer, at the intercession of the pope, who thought by that time all differences between the two monarchs might be amicably compromised. They had already signed a treaty of peace at London, upon the following conditions: That, in consideration of Edward's quitting all claim to the dutchy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the crown of France, he and his heirs should enjoy Gascony, Guienne, L'Engoumois, Saintonge, Perigort, Quercy, Limosin, Poictou, Touraine, Calais, Guisnes, the Boulonnois, and county of Ponthieu, intirely independent of the kingdom of France: and, That John, with the French noblemen who had been taken prisoners, should be set at liberty, on the payment of four millions of gold crowns for his and their ransom. This treaty being considered in an assembly of the estates of France, was rejected as incompatible with the honour and safety of the kingdom; and Edward, incensed at their refusal, threatened to visit the dauphin at Paris, as soon as the truce should be expired. The regent, that he might be the better prepared for his reception, compromised his dispute with the king of Navarre and the count of Harcourt; though Philip count of Longueville would not accede to this accommodation. Being possessed of many castles in Normandy, Picardy, and Champagne, he continued hostilities,

with

A. C. 1359. with the assistance of a number of English knights; who, though they had no commissions from the king, took this opportunity of enriching themselves with plunder.

King Edward invades France with a mighty army.

Edward had begun to make mighty preparations for invading France; and his design was no sooner known abroad, than a multitude of knights, with their followers, repaired to his standard at Calais, from Germany, Brabant, and the Low-Countries: so that the place being exceedingly crowded, a scarcity of provisions ensued; and this was attended with many disorders. To remove these inconveniencies, Henry duke of Lancaster went over in September with a body of forces, and taking the field, advanced to Cerisy on the Somme, where he continued encamped, until he heard of the king's arrival from England. Edward landed on the twenty-eighth day of October at Calais, with an army of one hundred thousand men, transported in eleven hundred sail of ships, together with a vast quantity of provisions for their subsistence. He was attended by the Black Prince and three other sons, namely, Lionel of Antwerp earl of Ulster, John of Ghent earl of Richmond, and Edmund of Langley; the earls of Warwick, Marche, Hereford, Suffolk, Stafford, Salisbury, and Northampton; the lords Piercy, Neville, D'Espenser, Chandos, Manny, Cobham, Mowbray, Delawarre, Grey of Codnore, Audeley, Bassett, Charleton, and Fitzwalter; and the king's fifth son, Thomas of Wodestoke, though a child, was left guardian of the kingdom, under the direction of a council. On the fourth day of November Edward began his march from Calais, in two divisions, one of which the prince of Wales commanded; and being joined by the duke of Lancaster, continued his progress in spite of deep roads and rainy weather, through Artois and Picardy, till he reached the neighbourhood of Rheims in Champagne, where the kings of France were generally

generally crowned. Here he proposed to be invested with the royal diadem of France; and the bishops of Lincoln and Durham attended him, in order to perform the ceremony: but the place was so well secured with fortifications and a strong garrison, that he did not think proper to invest it in form, but kept it blocked up till the beginning of Lent, and in the mean time reduced some small fortresses in the neighbourhood. In the beginning of the year he marched towards Troyes, and entering Burgundy took the town of Tonnere, though he could not reduce the castle: thence he proceeded to Montreal, Avallon, and Guillon, where Philip duke of Burgundy purchased a truce for three years, at the price of one hundred thousand nobles, payed under the name of a consideration for the restitution of Flavigny, which had been taken by some English adventurers. Edward advancing to Clamecy, granted a like composition to the people of the Nivernois; then ravaged all the Gatenois and Brie, and coming in sight of Paris on the last day of March, fixed his head-quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, from whence his army extended to Lonjumeau, and as far as Corbeil. A treaty was again set on foot by the pope's mediation, but proved as fruitless as the former; and the king advancing towards the Faubourg 'S. Marcel, challenged the dauphin to battle, offering to quit all claim to the crown of France, should he be defeated. This proposal being rejected, the weather extremely cold, and the ground destitute of forage, he made an unsuccessful attempt upon the suburbs, and began his march next day for Bretagne, from whence he proposed to return in July or August, and undertake the siege of Paris in form.

The regent dreading the intire reduction of Britany, and seeing no prospect of being able to oppose the progress of such a powerful army, as the finances of the kingdom were exhausted, and the neighbourhood of the capital insulted by the king of Navarre,

A. C. 1359.

A. C. 1360.

Treaty of
Bretigny.

A. C. 1360. Navarre, who had by this time renounced his treaty: for these reasons he resolved to conclude a peace with England, as the only means of preventing the ruin of the kingdom. With this view he sent the bishop of Terouenne, chancellor of France, with three other commissioners, to propose a treaty; and they overtaking Edward near Guillardon in Beauce, he appointed plenipotentiaries to treat with them on the subject of their embassy; though he did not interrupt his march until he arrived at Breigny in the Pais Chartrain*. Here the articles of a solid peace were settled by the dauphin on the part of France, and prince Edward in behalf of his father. It was stipulated, that a cession should be made to the king of England of the sieg of Thouzas, the land of Belleville, the county of Poitiers, the provinces of Poitou and Saintonge, Agenois, Limousin, Perigort, Quercy, Bigorre, Gavre, Engoumois, and Rouvergne, with their cities and castles, to be held by him and his heirs for ever, in the same manner as they were held by the king of France or any of his ancestors: That France should restore all that he or his predecessors had possessed in the town of Montreuil: and, That he should remain in possession of Calais and the county of Guines: That the king of France and the dauphin should renounce and give up the superiority over the countries and places thus conveyed to the king of England, who should on his part resign all pretensions to the crown of France, the dutchy of

* The mind of Edward is said to have been disposed to peace, by a dreadful storm that looked like a judgment from heaven. When he had advanced within two leagues of Chartres, a hurricane began to blow with incredible violence; and a shower of hailstones descended of such a prodigious size, that six thousand horses and one thousand men were struck dead instantaneously, while the

cope of heaven seemed to be rent with horrible peals of thunder. The king, affrighted at this tremendous scene, threw himself from his horse upon the ground; and, stretching out his hands towards the church of Chartres, solemnly vowed to God, that he would no longer reject the offers of peace, if it might be obtained on reasonable conditions,

Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, and Maine, the sovereignty of Flanders and Brittany, and all other claims and demands on the kings of France for any cause whatsoever, not specified in this treaty: That the king of France should be conducted to Calais within three weeks after Midsummer, and pay three millions of gold crowns for his ransom, at different payments: and, That the prisoners taken at the battle of Poitiers should remain as hostages for the payment, as well as for the delivery of Rochelle and some other fortresses, upon John's being set at liberty: That the dispute between Charles de Blois and John de Montfort, for the dutchy of Bretagne, should be candidly discussed, and referred to arbitration, under the sanction of both kings; but if their good offices should prove ineffectual, neither king should take any part in the quarrel; though the sovereignty of Bretagne should remain to the king of France, and John de Montfort be restored to the possession of all his lands in that kingdom: That Philip of Navarre should retrieve all his rights and possessions; and a general amnesty be granted to his partisans, as well as to all the adherents of both parties: That the king of France should renounce his alliance with the Scots, and Edward quit all connexion with the Flemings: That all the countries, towns, and fortresses, yielded to the king of England by this treaty, should be delivered into his hands, within a year at farthest after John's departure from Calais: and, That Edward should in like manner give up the places which had been taken by his subjects, and were not comprehended in this deed of cession: That this treaty, guaranteed by the pope, should be confirmed by the letters patent of John, in a month after his release; and both kings, with their eldest sons, the princes of the blood, and a certain number of their chief nobility, should engage upon oath for the performance of articles. These are

Rymer,

A. C. 1360. the chief articles of the treaty of Bretigny, which was ratified by the dauphin at Paris, in the presence of four English noblemen; and by prince Edward at Louviers in Normandy, before an equal number of French deputies. But the king of England deferred giving his sanction until John should be set at liberty, that the two monarchs might exchange ratifications: mean while he returned to England, from whence he sent the king of France to Calais, where he arrived on the eighth day of July.

King John
is set at li-
berty.

King Edward went thither in October, to receive the first payment of the ransom, amounting to six hundred thousand crowns of gold; but the country of France had been so grievously exhausted, that not above two-thirds of the sum could be raised; and hostages were given for the payment of the remainder at Candlemas. The dauphin and his council repairing to Boulogne, conferences were held on the late treaty, some clauses of which were altered by the consent of all parties; and the whole, as now corrected, was ratified by both kings at Calais, on the twenty-fourth of October. Next day John set out for Boulogne, and Edward accompanied him to the distance of a mile from Calais, where they parted with demonstrations of the most perfect friendship and mutual esteem. Immediately after his arrival in his own dominions, John and the dauphin passed a formal ratification of the treaty: but he was obliged to leave his son Philip with Edward as an hostage for the delivery of Rochelle, the inhabitants of which were extremely averse to the English government; nevertheless, it was given up in the succeeding January. Peace was established between the kings of France and Navarre at Calais; but the difference between Charles de Blois and John de Montfort could not be accommodated, though the truce was prolonged till Midsummer.

Froissart.

Edward,

Edward, having concluded this important negotiation, returned in November to England, where the peace was celebrated with all sorts of rejoicing; as the people now expected to be eased of the grievous taxes under which they had laboured so long. A parliament being convened at Westminster on the twenty-fourth day of January, the articles of the treaty were laid before the two houses, and unanimously approved. But the satisfaction occasioned by this event was soon damped, by the fatal consequences of a dreadful plague which broke out at this period, and swept away great numbers, among whom were the lords Mowbray, Seymour, and other persons of distinction; but none so regretted as Henry duke of Lancaster, who was universally esteemed and beloved for his great and amiable qualities. The French were likewise overjoyed at the peace, which not only saved them from immediate ruin, but restored to liberty their beloved sovereign, for whose ransom they taxed themselves with great cheerfulness, even while their country groaned under distractions, feuds, and depredations. A great number of castles had, during the troubles, been seized by private adventurers, who formed companions of freebooters, and ravaged the adjacent territories; and now after the conclusion of the treaty, they refused to quit their fortresses and their rapine, alledging they had no other means of subsistence. The counts of Foix, Armagnac, Cominges, Perigort, and other powerful barons, refused at first to transfer their homage from the crown of France to the king of England; and this aversion created such difficulties and delays in delivering the countries and places according to the stipulations of the treaty, that Midsummer was elapsed before the articles could be performed. At length, however, all those places were delivered up to John de Chandos, whom Edward had constituted his lieutenant in those countries, except some few

A. C. 1361.

France is ravaged by the freebooting companies.

A. C. 1361: fortresses possessed by those lawless banditti, who refused to comply with the orders they received. Those who did evacuate their castles, after having been used to rapine, joined a strong body of freebooters, composed of English, Gascons, French, Brabantines, Flemings, and Germans, who amounted to sixteen thousand, and ravaged all the inland provinces. The count of La Marche advancing against them, was utterly defeated in the neighbourhood of Lion, and died in three days of the wounds he had received in the action. One of their leaders seized Anse on the Saone, where he fortified himself, and from thence made excursions to ravage all the neighbouring countries; the rest, to the number of thirteen thousand, marched towards Avignon, and surprised Pont St. Esprit, where they found a prodigious booty. The pope published a crusade against them, but this had no sort of effect to their prejudice; on the contrary, they were daily joined by deserters and disbanded soldiers, allured by the hope of plunder and subsistence. At length John, marquis of Montferrat, being at war with Galeazo and Barnaby Visconti, lords of Milan, was invited by the pope and cardinals to Avignon, and furnished with money to take those freebooters into his service. He accordingly enlisted them, and by their assistance reduced Alba Pompeia, Novara, and Pavia; but they were debauched from his service by the Viscontis, who offered them larger appointments than they received from the marquis.

Froissart.

The prince of Wales goes to reside in Guienne.

Mean while the king of England, in order to reconcile his new subjects to the English government, resolved to put them under the immediate government of his heir apparent, to whose worth they were no strangers. The Black Prince had lately married his cousin Jane, daughter of Edmund Plantagenet earl of Kent, and widow of Sir Thomas Holland, by virtue of a dispensation from the pope; and the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence

magnificence at Windsor. The king had made a conveyance to him of Poitou and all the provinces lying between that country and the Pyrenees. He now declared him prince of Aquitaine and Gascony, to be held of the king by homage liege, and an annual tribute of an ounce of gold: and, this charter being executed in July, prince Edward employed the rest of that year in making preparations for his voyage to Bourdeaux, where he proposed to keep a magnificent court. In the beginning of February he departed from England, and was joyfully received in his new dominions, where the earls, barons, and knights, swore fealty to him with the utmost alacrity; and his politeness and affability soon conciliated the affection of the people. While his mild and equitable administration rendered his subjects happy in Guienne, his father convoked a parliament at Westminster for the reformation of abuses, and in order to deliberate upon the expediency of erecting a staple for wool at Calais. Divers grievances were redressed; a general pardon was passed for all trespasses in forests; and the commons granted a subsidy for three years on wool, wool-fells, and leather. The session broke up on the thirteenth day of November, the anniversary of the king's birth, on which occasion he created his son Lionel, duke of Clarence; John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster; and Edmund, earl of Cambridge. Another parliament was called after Michaelmas for the redress of grievances; and some new regulations were passed in the form of an ordinance, which was a temporary provision, by way of experiment, before it acquired the force of a statute.

Rymor.

Rot. Parl.

At this period Peter de Lusignan king of Cyprus, visited the most distinguished courts of Europe, with a view to engage the christian princes in a crusade against the Turks, who now began to be formidable

John king of France takes the cross.

A. C. 1363. in Lesser Asia ; and he proposed the recovery of the Holy Land from the hands of the Saracens, who had been lately weakened and dispirited by a dreadful pestilence. Philip de Valois had formerly made a vow to engage in such a crusade, and his son John ascribed all the subsequent misfortunes of France to his father's non-performance of this engagement. He therefore resolved to atone for this omission ; and repairing to Avignon, took upon him the cross, when his example was followed by Waldemar king of Denmark. Pope Urban extolled the resolution of John, whom he forthwith declared general of all the Christian armies engaged in the crusade ; and that prince fixed the first day of March, at the distance of two years, for the rendezvous of his forces, in order to embark in the expedition. The king of Cyprus arrived in England, where he expected to meet with the same success ; but Edward was too wise a prince to embark in such a romantic and expensive undertaking. Nevertheless, he assisted Lusignan with considerable sums of money, and allowed him to raise volunteers in England.

The execution of the treaty of Bretigny was still retarded by those who were unwilling to evacuate the places that were ceded to the king of England ; so that John's two sons, the duke of Anjou and Berry, together with his brother the duke of Orleans, who were left as hostages in the power of Edward, began to be tired of their residence in England ; and gave the king to understand, that they might be serviceable in removing the difficulties, if they could be conveyed to Calais, where they would be nearer the scene of negotiation. They were accordingly carried thither, and allowed to ride about the country for several days together, either for business or diversion ; but, their endeavours proving unsuccessful, the duke of Anjou abused his parole ; and made his escape into the dominions of his father,

ther, who chid him severely for his dishonourable behaviour. In order to make an atonement for the fault of his son, he resolved to go to England in person; and, in a conference with Edward, endeavour to level the obstructions that prevented the execution of the treaty. When his ministers endeavoured to divert him from this resolution, he told them, that though good faith were banished out of the rest of the world, it ought to be found in the words of princes; and, that as the execution of the treaty was the condition of his ransom, he was determined to see the articles punctually performed. He accordingly arrived in England during the Christmas holidays, where he met with a very cordial reception; and the kings of Cyprus and Scotland chancing to be there at the same time, the court of Edward shone with uncommon magnificence. David Bruce had found it impracticable to raise the money for his release in Scotland; and, before the treaty of Bretigny, had entered into a negotiation with the regent and council of France, who promised to advance fifty thousand marks towards the discharge of his ransom, if he would heartily engage in the interest of that kingdom, and make a powerful diversion in England. A treaty for this purpose was concluded; but such was the exhausted situation of France, that the regent could not perform his promise; and David Bruce found himself utterly unable to execute the treaty of Berwick, by virtue of which he had been set at liberty. Edward, who knew his distress, resolved to turn it to his own advantage. The queen of Scotland had died without issue, and David taking another wife, who likewise proved barren, the king of England offered to remit the ransom, provided he would settle the crown upon the royal family of England, in case he himself should die without children. David, in order to gain time,

A. C. 1364.

King John
arrives in
England;Rainald.
Du Tillet.
Froissart.

A. C. 1364.

seemed to relish the proposal, and even communicated it to the Scottish parliament, by whom it was rejected with indignation. Edward, notwithstanding this repulse, would not resign his project, especially as it seemed agreeable to David; and, in order to reconcile the Scots to his succession, proposed a federal union of the two nations, on terms so honourable and advantageous to the Scots, that nothing but the keenest resentment against Edward, who had entailed such miseries on their country, could have prompted them to a second refusal. This negotiation miscarrying, David Bruce repaired to the court of England, in hope of prevailing upon Edward to mitigate the ransom; and though he failed in his endeavours, he and the French king were royally entertained with feasts, jousts, and hunting-matches, till the beginning of April, when John sickened and died in the palace of the Savoy in London.

and dies in
the palace of
the Savoy.

Charles de
Blois is van-
quished and
slain in the
battle of
Auray.

In the course of the preceding year he had determined a dispute, about the succession of Burgundy, in favour of his own son Philip, surnamed the Hardy, who was invested with a dukedom, and the title of First Peer of France, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the king of Navarre, who was certainly next heir to the late duke Philip de Rouvre. As soon as Charles V. succeeded to the crown of France, he confirmed the decision of his father; and the king of Navarre, considering John's death as a favourable opportunity to do himself justice, declared war against his successor. Hostilities were immediately begun on both sides; and the famous Bertrand du Guesclin, who had signalized his valour in the service of Charles de Blois, was now employed to oppose the Navarrais in Normandy. He accordingly surpris'd Mante and Meulant, and opened a free communication between Paris and Rouen; and the king of Navarre matched this enterprising

enterprising officer with his kinsman John de Greilly, Captal de Buche, who had acquired great reputation in the service of England. He was not however furnished with a sufficient number of troops, to undertake any enterprize of importance ; and in the course of the campaign, had the misfortune to be routed and taken prisoner at Cocherel, after a very bloody dispute with Bertrand, who was immediately after this battle sent to the assistance of Charles de Blois in Brittany. The dispute between this nobleman and John de Montfort still subsisting, notwithstanding the endeavours of Edward, who proposed a partition of the dutchy : and the truce, which had been prolonged from time to time, being now expired, Montfort took the field and invested Auray ; and Charles being joined by Guesclin, the counts of Auxerre and Joigny, and several other barons of France, with their vassals, resolved to raise the siege, and terminate the competition by one decisive battle. John, being informed of his competitor's preparations, solicited the assistance of John de Chandos constable of Guienne, who succoured him in person with a small body of English men at arms and archers, including a good number of brave knights, who had come from England on purpose to signalize themselves under the command of such a gallant officer. Charles, advancing to Vannes, drew up his army in order of battle, and marched towards Auray against his enemy, who was posted on a plain behind the castle. Guesclin commanded the right wing ; the counts of Auxerre and Joigny were stationed on the left ; and the center was commanded by Charles de Blois. The disposition of Montfort's army being left to the lord Chandos, he posted Sir Robert Knolles opposite to Guesclin ; Oliver de Clifson opposed the count of Auxerre ; he himself and the count de Montfort commanded the main body ; and Sir
Hugh

A. C. 1364. Hugh de Calverly directed the corps de reserve. The whole line of each army engaged at the same instant; and Charles de Blois attacked with such impetuosity, that Montfort's standard was beaten down, and his main body obliged to give way. Calverly immediately advanced from the rear, and kept Charles in play, until the center rallied and returned to its former station; and then he retired to his post, according to the directions of Chandos. Mean while the count of Auxerre being wounded in the eye and taken prisoner, his men were discouraged and began to fall back; Oliver de Clifton, taking advantage of their disorder, charged them with redoubled vigour, and soon routed them with great slaughter. Calverly, observing the enemy's main body left naked by the flight of this wing, advanced through a field of broom, and attacked them in the flank with such fury, that they were immediately broken and dispersed, after Charles had been run through the mouth, and left dead upon the spot. Guesclin still kept his ground, and fought with his usual prowess, till being grievously wounded, and environed on all hands, he was forced to yield himself prisoner to the lord Chandos, who thus obtained a complete victory, which in a manner extinguished the competition. Next day the castle of Auray surrendered, in consequence of a capitulation to which the garrison had agreed before the battle, which was attended with the submission of Vannes and several other important places. Great part of the noblesse of Bretagne, who had espoused the claim of Charles, looking upon the cause as desperate, came over to that of Montfort. This nobleman now advanced to the higher Brittany, and having reduced the town of Jugon, undertook the siege of Dinan, which held out during the greatest part of winter, in hope of being succoured by the duke of Anjou, but was at length

A. C. 1365.

length obliged to surrender. Then he invested Quimper Corentin, and ravaged the adjacent country. The widow of Charles, whose sons were still prisoners in England, finding herself unable to stop his progress, had recourse to the king of France for assistance. That prince being restricted by the treaty of Bretigny from interesting himself in her quarrel, and at the same time afraid of losing the sovereignty of Bretagne, should it be conquered by Montfort, proposed that he should make an honourable provision for the widow of his competitor; and in that case, he might possess the dutchy in quiet, and hold it by homage of the crown of France. Montfort, with the consent of his father-in-law the king of England, closed with this proposal, and peace was established at Guerande, on condition, That in case of Montfort's dying without legitimate issue, the dutchy should descend to John eldest son of Charles de Blois: That Jane the widow of Charles, should enjoy the county of Ponthievre, besides a revenue of twenty thousand franks: and, That Montfort should be admitted to do homage for the dutchy to the king of France. In consequence of this treaty, all the places which had hitherto held out for the family of Charles, were delivered to John de Montfort, who remained in quiet possession of all Brittany. By the mediation of the Captal de Buche, while he remained a prisoner, an accommodation was effected between the kings of France and Navarre, which last received an equivalent for Mante and Meulant; and the prisoners on both sides were set at liberty.

*D'Argen-
tre's Hist. de
Bretagne.
Froissart.*

During these transactions upon the continent, the king of England convoked a parliament at Westminster, which granted a subsidy for three years on wool and leather, and enacted a statute against provisors, reservations, citations to Rome, and other papal usurpations. Urban V. resenting

The parliament offer to support the king against papal usurpation.

this

A. C. 1366. this law, demanded the arrears of the tribute granted by king John to the church of Rome; and threatened to prosecute the king and kingdom, should they refuse to comply with his demand. This affair being considered, in the subsequent session which met in May, the parliament resolved that king John could not subject himself or his kingdom in such a manner, without the concurrence and consent of his people; and that, if the pope should proceed to violent measures, they would oppose him to the utmost of their power.

Rot Par.

France ravaged by the freebooters.

France being now more than ever harrassed by the freebooting companies, who had returned from Italy, and were joined by vast numbers of licentious banditti, Charles V. desired the king of England to exert his authority against them, as their leaders were chiefly English and Gascons; and it had been stipulated in the treaty of Bretigny, that in case of their proving refractory, both crowns should unite their endeavours to reduce them by force of arms. Edward had, by repeated proclamations, ordered all his subjects to quit that infamous society, and leave the kingdom of France; but few of the banditti obeying his order, he resolved to march against them in person. Charles, alarmed at his preparations, now intreated him to desist: and this instance of low suspicion provoked the king of England so much, that he swore he would never stir towards his assistance, even though the companies should attempt to drive him out of his kingdom. By this time they amounted to forty thousand hardy veterans, who filled all the continent with alarm and consternation. The pope had at first excommunicated the whole body; but afterwards he attempted to sooth them with a promise of pardon and absolution. Large appointments were offered to them, and a free passage through the empire and Hungary, if they would engage in a
crusade

crusade against the Turks, who had lately made terrible irruptions into Europe: but they did not chuse to go so far abroad, while France afforded them plenty of subsistence and plunder; though at length they were allured into Spain by the civil wars which broke out in that country.

Pedro king of Castile, surnamed The Cruel, among other acts of despotism and barbarity, had put to death three natural sons of his father Alphonso XI. and the three that survived, namely, Henry count of Trastamare, Tello count of Sancelloni, and Sancho, apprehensive of the same fate, fled for refuge into Arragon, whither they were pursued by Pedro, at the head of an army, with which he reduced several towns and castles in that kingdom; so that his brothers, thinking themselves unsafe in Arragon, fled into France, where they were protected by Charles, who was incensed against Pedro for having poisoned his wife Blanche de Bourbon, sister to the queen of France. This inhuman Castilian no sooner understood that his brothers had retired to Paris, than he caused their mother Leonora de Gusman to be put to death, themselves to be proclaimed traitors, and their estates to be confiscated. He had incurred the displeasure of his holiness by seizing church-lands, imprisoning the clergy, and breaking the truce with the king of Arragon. The pope had cited him to answer for his crimes by proxy: but he ridiculed the citation, and abused the messengers; and for these reasons was excommunicated in the Roman consistory. Urban, not yet satisfied with this vengeance, which indeed the other did not feel, invited the king of Arragon, and Henry count of Trastamare, to a conference at Avignon, where it was resolved that the pope should denounce a sentence of deposition against Pedro, and declare Henry legitimate, and capable of inheriting the

They help to establish Henry count of Trastamare on the throne of Castile.

kingdom

A. C. 1366. kingdom of Castile, as if he had been the only son of the late king Alphonso. He forthwith engaged in a league with the king of Arragon, who undertook to give a free passage through his dominions to the troops of Henry, which were no other than the freebooting companies enlisted in his service by the means of Bertrand du Guesclin, whom the king of France employed for that purpose. This renowned warrior repairing to their head-quarters near Chalons sur Saone, persuaded Sir Hugh de Calverly, the same who fought so gallantly at the battle of Auray, Sir Matthew Gournay, and the rest of the chieftains, to engage in this enterprize, for a valuable consideration to be payed by the pope and the king of France; provided that his holiness would absolve them from the censures they had incurred; that Du Guesclin should be their commander; and that they should not be desired to serve against the prince of Wales. These articles were confirmed in a solemn treaty, by which they obliged themselves to surrender to the king of France all the fortresses they held in his dominions. Then they took the field; and, being joined by great numbers of the French noblesse, who were ambitious of serving under the celebrated Du Guesclin, that general soon found himself at the head of sixty thousand men. The money stipulated by France was punctually payed; but, the pope delaying the payment of what he had promised, Du Guesclin directed his march to Avignon, and demanded it in such a strain, that his holiness being seized with consternation, raised one hundred thousand livres by a capitation on the inhabitants. This sum, however, the general obliged him to restore to the people from whom it had been exacted; and then extorted two hundred thousand florins from the pockets of the pontiff and his cardinals. All the soldiers of this army wore long white crosses

Froissart.
Hist. de Du
Guesclin.

crosses on their habits, as if they had engaged in a crusade; and it was given out that they were on their march against the Moors of Grenada. But the king of Castile was not deceived by that pretence. He knew their destination; recalled his troops from Arragon, and endeavoured to raise an army sufficient to cope with the invaders. But he was so hated by his subjects, that few or none appeared at the rendezvous; and the greatest part of his forces deserted in their return from Arragon. In a word, he found himself totally abandoned; and the defection was so sudden, that he scarce had time to secure himself and his family, with his treasure, at Corunna, from whence he fled with his three daughters into Gascony: while Henry assumed the title of king, and was acknowledged as such by all the cities and nobility of the kingdom. Froissart.

END of the THIRD VOLUME.

J. C. R. A. W. E. S.

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THE END OF THE WORLD







